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THE CHRONOLOGY OF GENESIS.

PROFESSOR S. R. DRIVER, D. D., has contributed to the series of Westminster Commentaries edited by Walter Lock, D. D., a volume entitled "The Book of Genesis."¹ The make-up of the book is tempting. The paper is light, the size inviting, the type is large and the margin ample. The contents are more satisfactory still. If Professor Driver writes, he has something to say, and he knows how to say it. He has acquired the art of superseding all previous writers on the subjects he treats. The new Commentary is no exception to this rule. The author is familiar with the whole literature on Genesis, and he utilizes it both generously and judiciously. But he has his limitations, and he appears to have assumed them consciously. He gives us a list of works and authors with the respective abbreviations under which they are cited throughout the work. But no name of any Catholic work or author is in evidence. Again, the demands of criticism are humbly obeyed, but the canons of inspiration are simply ignored. Science is allowed unrestrained liberty, but the authority of revelation is ruled out of court. Professor Driver first compares the contents of Genesis with the conclusions of archæology, philology, ethnology and geology, and forthwith, without considering the

¹ London, 1904, Methuen & Co.

religious character of the book, he tells us "that in the first eleven chapters there is little or nothing that can be called historical in our sense of the word," and that in the succeeding chapters "much uncertainty must be allowed to attach to details of the narrative." He does not indeed deny "the religious value of the Book of Genesis." He devotes a whole chapter to this subject. But it gives only a further proof that science has the first choice, and religion must be content with the leavings.

The narrow limits of an article do not allow us to consider Professor Driver's view on the historicity of the Book of Genesis in its full extent. We shall endeavor to review his position with regard to only a single element of historicity, which the author himself calls "The Chronology of Genesis." Even within these narrow limits we shall not be able to cover the whole ground inch by inch. But we shall touch upon those points that really are the stronghold of Professor Driver's position. And what is Dr. Driver's position? His own words sum it up in a nutshell: "The chronology of the Book of Genesis . . . has no historical value." Truly, "this saying is hard, and who can hear it?" But Professor Driver does not expect you to take it on faith; he is going to prove it to you by answering these two questions: 1. Is the chronology of Genesis consistent with itself? 2. Is it consistent with such external data as we possess for fixing the chronology of the period embraced in the Book? Let us follow the Professor's reasoning with patience and attention.

"The first of these questions," says the reverend author, "need not detain us long. It is shewn, in the notes on xii., 11, xxi., 15, xxiv., 67, xxxv., 8, and pp. 262, 365 n., 368, that there are a number of points in the Book at which the statements made about one or other of the patriarchs in J or E² are not consistent with the ages of families ascribed to them in P;³ in other words, that in several instances J and E pictured the patriarchs as being aged differently from what they must have been, if the ages noted in P are correct, and that consequently the chronology of P is not consistent with that presupposed by J or E." To speak more plainly for the benefit of the readers who are not accustomed to the symbols J, E, P, Professor Driver has found that the ages assigned to the patriarchs in one part of Genesis are not consistent with those assigned to the same persons in other parts of the Book. This contention he proves by a reference to a series of passages in his Commentary. All we can do is to follow the lead of our author.

The first reference points to Driver's note on Genesis xii., 11.

² i. e., in the Yahwistic or Elohist document.

³ i. e., in the Priestly document.

The inspired writer tells us of Abraham's fear for his safety and the safety of his wife on account of the latter's beauty. "From xii., 4, compared with xvii., 17, it appears that Sarai was at this time at least 65 years of age." Professor Driver, therefore, finds personal beauty inconsistent with an age of 65 years. His opinion might be correct, if at the time of the patriarchs old age had begun as early as it does in our times. According to Genesis xxiii., 1, Sara died at the age of 127, so that her age of 65 corresponds to that of about 30 in our days. Professor Driver cannot consider it abnormal for the Saras of our day to keep their beauty till the age of 30. If any text of Genesis stated that Sara had lost her beauty at the age of 65, our commentator would no doubt have found it inconsistent with Genesis xxiii., 1.

Let us pass on to the Professor's second argument. In his note on Genesis xxi., 15, he tells us: "The word clearly implies that Ishmael was being carried by his mother, although according to xvi., 16, xxi., 5, 8, he must have been at least 15 years old. The inconsistency is similar to the one in xii., 11, and must be similarly explained." We have seen that the inconsistency in Genesis xii., 11, is not in the text, but only in the mind of its commentator, simply because he does not take into account the difference between the length of human life in patriarchal time and that in our own days. Similarly, the inconsistency in Genesis xxi., 15, is merely subjective; the Professor does not take into account the difference between the usual way of acting under the normal conditions of life and the expediences resorted to in extreme necessity. In other words, if according to the text of Genesis Hagar had carried Ishmael to a mere pleasure party, we might be right in pronouncing the text inconsistent with the boy's age of 15 years. But the case is quite different: mother and child are in the desert, in want of water; the boy is on the point of dying of thirst. Does Professor Driver find it inconsistent with the child's age if his mother carries him in his helplessness on her fruitless search for water? Would not any other way of acting be inconsistent with a mother's love?

Professor Driver's third argument is taken from Genesis xxiv., 67: "And Isaac brought her into his mother Sara's tent . . . and Isaac was comforted after his mother's death." Now Sara had been dead three or four years, when Isaac married, "an unusually long period for mourning in the East." No doubt, the East has its settled time for wearing crape after the death of a friend or near relative. But the sorrow of heart brought on by such a sad event has no uniformly defined time in either West or East. Professor Driver imagines that the one can be put on and off as easily as the other; the inmates feel sad when the house is draped, and sorrow

departs with the dark color of our coat. Human nature is not constructed on these lines, and Isaac has not been shown to be an exception to the general rule.

Professor Driver's fourth argument strikes one as being still more subjective. Genesis xxxv., 8, states: "At the same time Debora the nurse of Rebecca died." The commentator adds: "She is said in xxiv., 59, to have accompanied her mistress to Canaan . . . 140 years previously! And then the common refrain follows that "P's chronology does not always harmonize with that of JE." If the writer had added "as understood by me" or "as interpreted by me" his statement might pass; as it stands it is false and misleading. How does Professor Driver know that Debora did not reach the age implied in the text of Genesis? To say the least, such an age is not inconsistent with the high number of years ascribed by the Priestly document to its heroes.

The Professor's fifth argument appears at first to be more formidable. He states it after xxvii., 1-45, where the inspired writer tells us how Jacob by craft secured his father's blessing. "The preceding narrative," we are told, "involves a serious chronological discrepancy. Isaac is to all appearance . . . upon his death-bed; . . . yet . . . he survived for eighty years, dying at the age of 180. Ussher, Keil and others . . . infer that Jacob's flight to Haran took place in his 77th year; this reduces the 80 years to 43, though that is hardly less incredible. Even, however, supposing this were credible and consistent with the representation of the narrator, it does not remove the chronological difficulties of the narrative; for it involves the fresh incongruity of supposing that thirty-seven years elapsed between Esau's marrying his Hittite wives, and Rebekah's expressing her fear that Jacob, then aged 77, should follow his brother's example! Nor is it natural to picture Jacob seeking a wife in Haran, and tending Laban's sheep, as a man 77 years old. The fact is, we have here another of the many examples afforded by the Book of Genesis of the impossibility of harmonizing the chronology of P with that of JE."

The Professor's reasoning is really reducible to two points:

1. According to xxvii., 1-2, Isaac is on his death-bed, and still he survives for 80 or, according to another computation, for 43 years.
2. If the second computation be received, then 37 years intervene between Esau's marriage and the expression of Rebecca's fear for Jacob, and Jacob seeks a wife and keeps Laban's flocks at the age of 77. As to the first point, we fail to see it in Professor Driver's light. The text itself does not suggest any death-bed scene. "When Isaac was old, and his eyes were dim, so that he could not see, he called Esau . . . and said unto him . . . Behold now, I am

old, I know not the day of my death." Considering that Isaac's blindness is not said to be the result of his old age alone, the passage does not at all suggest any immediate danger of death. It implies indeed a certain degree of foresight on the part of Isaac; but this is not at all out of place in a man of 100 or 137. In point of fact, Genesis xxv., 6, shows that Abraham exercised a similar kind of foresight for the benefit of Isaac. What more natural than that Isaac should secure the right of succession to his first-born even as Abraham had done? Besides, the text represents Isaac as eating of Jacob's artificially prepared "venison," *i. e.*, of the meat of "two good kids," and as drinking wine, which are certainly not the marks of a death-bed scene. In exposing his second point, Professor Driver reasons as if the patriarchal conditions of life were the same as our own. If Abraham could marry Cetura, when he was more than 100 years old, as xxv., 1 suggests, it is not surprising to see Jacob keeping Laban's flocks and seeking for a wife at the age of 77. If thirty-seven years intervene between Esau's marrying his Hittite wives and the expression of Rebecca's fear that Jacob might enter into similar alliances, there may have been the best of reasons for such a long interval. Why should Rebecca entertain such fears as to Jacob's line of action, unless outward circumstances gave her an occasion to do so? Jacob may not have shown any inclination to marry, or there may not have been any suitable Hittite maidens, or other similar reasons may have banished all fear from Rebecca's heart as to the probability of Jacob's bringing home into her tent any Hittite daughters-in-law.

The sixth difficulty is stated thus by Professor Driver: "Judah marries, has three children, and after the third has grown up becomes a father again, and through the child thus born becomes a grandfather, all within the space of twenty-two years." How is this proved? "Joseph at his elevation had been thirteen years in Egypt," says Mr. Driver, "and . . . nine years further have elapsed, when he sends for Jacob and his family. But the position of chapter xxxviii. places the events recorded in it after Joseph had been sold into Egypt. Now in that chapter Judah marries, etc.," and his sons' sons descend with Jacob's family into Egypt (xlvi., 12). We do not deny that between Joseph's arrival in Egypt and Jacob's descent thither twenty-two years had elapsed. But we do deny that Genesis places Juda's first marriage after Joseph's arrival in Egypt. It is true that the chapter containing this event and the history of Juda follows the account of Joseph's cruel treatment at the hands of his brethren, and precedes the record of his life in Egypt. But this very interruption of the history of Joseph by the history of Juda points to an arrangement of events other than chron-

ological. The influence of Joseph is simply supreme throughout the last chapters of Genesis. The inspired writer, therefore, is anxious to show why Joseph rather than any one of his older brethren was chosen for this place of preëminence. Those who might have claimed a rank of preëminence were Simeon, Levi, Ruben and Juda: The reason for Ruben's exclusion is given in the history of his crime as told in Genesis xxxv., 22; the behavior of Simeon and Levi as portrayed in Genesis xxxiv. is a sufficient reason for their rejection. But the reader had not been informed why Joseph surpassed Juda in prominence. And information on this point was the more necessary, because in later times the sceptre was not to pass from Juda till the approach of the Messianic era. It was for this reason that the inspired writer told his readers all about Juda's sin before entering upon the story of Joseph's elevation. Nor can the opening clause of chapter xxxviii., "And it came to pass at that time," be urged against the non-chronological position of Juda's history. For the phrase is a vague formula of transition rather than an accurate index of time.

We come now to Professor Driver's last argument for the presence of chronological inconsistencies in the Book of Genesis. In connection with Genesis xlvi., 21, 27, he writes: "The chronology of P, which is here presupposed, is irreconcilable with that of JE. Benjamin, who has been described just before as a 'little lad' (xliv., 20), could not have been the father of ten sons, still less (lxx.) a grandfather." The difficulty stated by Professor Driver is not a new one; it had occurred to the ancient commentators who endeavored to solve it by admitting that the list includes those that went down into Egypt with Jacob *in lumbis patrum*. Mr. Driver believes that this supposition "exceeds the limits of credibility." And it is really hard to see why the inspired writer should have limited the number of Jacob's companions to seventy, since David and Solomon and the whole of the future nation accompanied him *in lumbis patrum*. The text itself supplies us a better answer to Driver's argument. Xlvi., 12 enumerates among the sons of Juda "Her and Onan," adding immediately, "and Her and Onan died in the land of Chanaan." Still, they are numbered among the seventy souls descending with Jacob into Egypt. Again, in xlvi., 15, Dina is mentioned among the children of Lia, but is not counted among the seventy. And this is the more remarkable, since the text expressly adds: "All the souls of her sons and daughters, thirty-three." It is therefore certain that some of those mentioned in the list of Jacob's companions and counted among the seventy did not descend with him into Egypt. It is equally certain that others descended with Jacob into Egypt who are not now counted among

his seventy companions. The case is still more striking in the Greek version; for in xlvi., 20, the translators have added the sons of Ephraim and Manasses. But this fact gives us a clew to the solution of the difficulty. The official Greek interpreters did not hesitate to alter the text of the list in the interest of certain influential Jewish families whose ancestors did not appear in its primitive form. If this could be done in the Greek text, it could also be done in its Hebrew original. But how then could the number seventy remain intact? By an omission of those families which sprang from female descendants of Jacob. This explains the presence in the list of the sons of Benjamin and Phares in spite of their Egyptian birth, and the absence of Dina's family in spite of the text's express demand for it.

Thus far we have examined Professor Driver's argument for his thesis that the chronology of Genesis is not consistent with itself. His appeal to Genesis xlvi., 21, 27, does not prove his point, because it mistakes an altered text for its genuine form; his appeal to Genesis xxxviii., 1, and xlvi., 12, is ineffective, because it mistakes the logical order of events for their chronological sequence; his appeal to Genesis xxvii., 1-45, is valueless, because it mistakes a family feast for a death-bed scene; his appeal to Genesis xxxv., 8, proves nothing, because it shows the consistency rather than the inconsistency of Genesis in its chronological data; his appeal to Genesis xxiv., 67, does not bear out his thesis, because it mistakes the outward signs of mourning for its inward presence; his appeal to Genesis xxi., 15, is irrelevant, because it mistakes an occurrence that happened under the pressure of extreme necessity for an habitual way of acting; finally, his appeal to Genesis xii., 11, is not to the point, because it mistakes the patriarchal times for our own.

The reader, no doubt, remembers Professor Driver's general statement that "the chronology of the Book of Genesis . . . has not historical value;" he remembers, too, that the Professor endeavors to prove it by his answer to the double question, is the chronology of Genesis consistent with itself, is it consistent with such external data as we have for fixing the chronology of the period covered by the Book? The answer to the first part of the question has thus far been weighed and found wanting. Is the Professor's answer to the second question more conclusive? Let us place it first before the reader:

| | Heb. | Sam. | lxx. |
|------------------------------------|------|------|------|
| The Creation of man | 4157 | 4243 | 5328 |
| The Deluge | 2501 | 2936 | 3066 |
| Call of Abraham | 2136 | 1921 | 1921 |
| Jacob's migration into Egypt | 1921 | 1706 | 1706 |
| The Exodus | 1491 | 1491 | 1491 |

Now, it is certain that man existed upon the earth long before

either B. C. 4157 or 5328; the ages to which the several patriarchs lived, and at which their eldest sons are said to have been born, are incompatible with the constitution of the human body. According to the best available authorities, the interval between Abraham and the Exodus will be some 900 years; it may even have been 1,000 years. Hence the chronology of Genesis is not consistent with the external data we possess for fixing the chronology of the period embraced by the Book.

It is quite clear that the chronological table is the major premise of the Professor's argument, while the various incongruities he enumerates constitute its minor. Both propositions will have to be dealt with. We naturally begin with an elucidation of the former premise. The table as it stands gives us the respective figures found for the various events in the Hebrew text, the Samaritan text and the text of the Septuagint version. They show no disagreement in the date of the Exodus. But then this date is gotten by an ascending scale. Whether Ussher be right or wrong, he fixes the date for Solomon's reign B. C. 1014-975. Now, according to I. Kings vi., 1, the fourth year of Solomon, or the year of the foundation of the Temple, is the 480th⁴ year from the Exodus. Hence the date B. C. 1491, which the Professor's table gives for the Exodus, does not properly enter the chronology of Genesis. Nor does the second date given for Jacob's migration into Egypt properly belong to the chronology of Genesis; for it is obtained by adding to 1491 the years of Israel's sojourn in Egypt, which are given in Exodus xii., 40, not in Genesis, unless indeed Genesis xv., 13, 16, be urged as chronological indices. In the former verse we have only the round number "400 years," and in the latter the vague expression "in the fourth generation" referring to Israel's exile in Egypt. On the other hand, in Exodus xii., 40, the Hebrew text gives for Israel's sojourn in Egypt 430 years, while the Samaritan and Septuagint texts allow only 215 years for the same period. The three texts agree as to the fact that 215 years intervened between Jacob's migration into Egypt and the call of Abraham. For they insert twenty-five years between Abraham's call and the birth of Isaac, sixty years between the birth of Isaac and that of Jacob, and they represent Jacob as going into Egypt at the age of 130. The greatest discrepancies between the number of years given in the three different texts occur in the first two periods:

| | Heb. | Sam. | lxx. |
|---|------|------|------|
| From the Creation of man to the Flood | 1656 | 1307 | 2262 |
| From the Flood to the Call of Abraham | 365 | 1015 | 1145 |
| | 2021 | 2322 | 3407 |

⁴ LXX., 440th.

It follows, then, that the chronology of Genesis proper reaches only down to Jacob's migration into Egypt, and that the three texts differ only with regard to the first two of the three periods covered by the Book. For the period of the patriarchs' sojourn in Chanaan the three texts agree in the number of 215 years. Hence the total number of years embraced by the chronology of Genesis is $2,021 + 215 = 2,236$ in the Hebrew text; $2,322 + 215 = 2,537$ in the Samaritan, and $3,407 + 215 = 3,622$ in the Septuagint.

Before we pass on to the defense of the chronology of Genesis, we naturally wish to know which of its three texts gives the true number of years. We shall indicate the main arguments urged for or against each of the three texts, in order to satisfy the curiosity of the reader rather than with a view of arriving at a satisfactory conclusion. The following considerations refer to the Samaritan text: 1. Its antiquity speaks in its favor, but its poor codex parentage and its wretched state of preservation go against it. 2. Budde draws attention to the fact that according to the Samaritan text three of the antediluvian patriarchs, Jared, Mathusala and Lamech, died in the year 1307 after the creation of man, *i. e.*, in the year of the Flood. Friends of the text see here a proof of its trustworthiness, but enemies find here a vestige of artificial arrangement. 3. In the Samaritan text we notice an even decrease in the age of the successive patriarchs. The case of Noe is an exception which may be explained by his connection with the Flood. Here again is a phenomenon favorable or unfavorable to the Samaritan text, according to the attitude of the reader. 4. Bertheau has observed that in the Samaritan text the number of years expressing the age of the single patriarchs is in each case the sum of numbers expressing the begetting age of several patriarchs. The following table will illustrate this statement:

| Patriarchs | Age | Sum of Begetting—Ages of Patriarchs. |
|------------|-----|---|
| Adam | 930 | $(105 = \text{Seth}) + (90 = \text{Enos}) + (70 = \text{Cainan}) + (65 = \text{Malaleel}) + (500 = \text{Noe}) + (100 = \text{Flood}).$ |
| Seth | 912 | $(130 = \text{Adam}) + (62 = \text{Jared}) + (67 = \text{Mathusala}) + (53 = \text{Lamech}) + (600 = \text{Noe and Flood}).$ |
| Enos | 905 | $(130 = \text{Adam}) + (105 = \text{Seth}) + (70 = \text{Cainan}) + (600 = \text{Noe and Flood}).$ |
| Cainan | 910 | $(130 = \text{Adam}) + (62 = \text{Jared}) + (65 = \text{Henoch}) + (53 = \text{Lamech}) + (600 = \text{Noe and Flood}).$ |
| Malaleel | 895 | $(130 = \text{Adam}) + (105 = \text{Seth}) + (90 = \text{Enos}) + (70 = \text{Cainan}) + (500 = \text{Noe}).$ |
| Jared | 847 | $(62 = \text{Jared}) + (65 = \text{Henoch}) + (67 = \text{Mathusala}) + (53 = \text{Cainan}) + (600 = \text{Noe and Flood}).$ |
| Henoch | 365 | $(130 = \text{Adam}) + (70 = \text{Cainan}) + (65 = \text{Malaleel}) + (100 = \text{Flood}).$ |
| Mathusala | 720 | $(130 = \text{Adam}) + (90 = \text{Enos}) + (500 = \text{Noe}).$ |
| Lamech | 653 | $(53 = \text{Lamech}) + (600 = \text{Noe and Flood}).$ |
| Noe | 950 | $(130 = \text{Adam}) + (70 = \text{Cainan}) + (65 = \text{Mal.}) + (67 = \text{Hen.}) + (67 = \text{Math.}) + (53 = \text{Lam.}) + (500 = \text{Noe}).$ |

We now pass on to the considerations referring to the Septuagint text: 1. The Septuagint adds to the generating age of each patri-

arch in the Samaritan text 100 years. It exhibits the same excess over the generating age of the patriarchs as given in the Hebrew text, except in the case of Jared, Mathusala, Lamech and Noe. Friends of the Septuagint point out that its text agrees better than any other with the real age of man; opponents of the Greek version find in the augmented numbers of its text a clear sign of artificial manipulation which was resorted to in order to adapt its chronology to the dates of Egyptian history and of Jewish tradition. 2. Böckh has pointed out that the Septuagint date for the Flood is really the result of a substitution of months for years in the Egyptian prehistoric chronology. For the common Septuagint text places the Flood in the year 2242 after the creation of man. Now $2,242 \times 365\frac{1}{4} = 818,890\frac{1}{2}$ days, or $818,890\frac{1}{2} \div 29\frac{1}{2} = 27,759$ lunar months. Again, $27,759 = 19 \times 1,461$; *i. e.*, 27,759 is the number of vague years contained in 19 Sothic cycles or Dogstar periods. Supposing then that 19 Dogstar periods were assigned to the Egyptian prehistoric age, we find that the Septuagint number of antediluvian *months* is equal to the Egyptian number of prehistoric *years*. In other words, the Septuagint version has reduced the Egyptian prehistoric years to as many months. 3. It should be noted that according to the common Septuagint text Mathusala died fourteen years after the Flood. Josephus' Septuagint text avoids this inconvenience by increasing Mathusala's begetting age by twenty years and by diminishing that of Lamech by six years. The Flood is thus placed in the year 2256 after the creation of man.

The following points must be kept in mind in connection with the Hebrew text: 1. It would have been much harder to change the numbers in the Hebrew text than to alter them in the Septuagint version. The former change would be opposed to the whole of the Jewish written and unwritten evidence, while the latter could be introduced by an insertion into the first copy published. 2. It has been seen above that according to the Hebrew text the number of years that elapsed from the creation of man to the Exodus is $2,666 = 1,656$ (Flood) + 365 (Call of Abraham) + 215 (Sojourn of patriarchs in Chanaan) + 430 (Israelites' sojourn in Egypt). Dillmann is of opinion that this number is the result of artificial manipulation, since 2,666 is $\frac{2}{3}$ of 4,000, or $\frac{2}{3}$ of the number of years which according to the Elias tradition must elapse before the coming of the Messias. 3. Himpel (*Kirchenlexikon* iii., 315) believes that the Jews may have introduced the lower numbers into their text instead of the higher for theological reasons. According to an ancient tradition, the world was to last 7,000 years, just as it had been made in seven days, and the Messias was to come in the sixth millennium. Seeing that according to the Septuagint computation Jesus Christ

did come in the sixth millennium, the Jews lowered the numbers in their text in such a way as to place the time of Jesus Christ in the beginning of the fifth millennium. 4. The relation of the Hebrew text to the ancient Chaldean chronology is remarkable. For the creation of the world the Chaldeans allow a period of 168 myriads. Now, the seven days of the Biblical account of the creation give 168 hours. Thus the Biblical account represents a Chaldean myriad of years by an hour. Again, the Chaldeans reckoned from the creation of man down to the Flood 432,000 years or 86,400 "sosses of five years." The Hebrew text gives for the same period 1,656 years = 86,400 weeks. For $1,656 \text{ years} = 72 \times 23 \text{ years}$; but $23 \text{ years} = 8,395 \text{ days} + 5 \text{ intercalary days} = 8,400 \text{ days} = 1,200 \text{ weeks}$; hence $1,656 \text{ years} = 72 \times 1,200 \text{ weeks} = 86,400 \text{ weeks}$. It is plain, therefore, that the Hebrew text gives 86,400 weeks instead of the Chaldean 86,400 "sosses of five years," *i. e.*, it substitutes a week instead of every period of five years. Professor Driver and most modern writers give the credit for discovering this relation to the French Assyriologist Oppert; but it had been discovered before Oppert by Dr. Gottlieb Heinrich Schubert.⁵ Father Honthelm goes further still. He notes that the day even among the Chaldeans was divided into $24 \times 60 \times 60 \text{ seconds} = 86,400 \text{ seconds}$. Hence the Hebrew text allows for the period between the creation of man and the Flood a long day whose seconds are weeks, while the Chaldeans allow for the same period a day whose seconds are "sosses of five years."

It may now be asked whether a Catholic commentator is allowed to explain the years given in the Book of Genesis for the first few periods after the creation of man in such a way as to lengthen the respective periods. We know that no difficulty is raised against explaining the days of the first chapter of Genesis as periods, or as logical heads of subjects, or again as prophetic tableaux. Is the word "year" to enjoy the same liberty of interpretation that has been granted to the word "day?" It is the duty of the commentator to explain his text in the sense in which it was meant by the author. Now, whatever may be said in favor of such a wide meaning of the word "year" in the chronological tables of Genesis, we do not consider it probable that the original text of the respective numbers was obtained either from the Egyptian chronology by the substitution of months for so many years, or from the Chaldean chronology by the substitution of weeks for so many "sosses of five years." If the inspired writer had wished to give the number of either the Egyptian years or of the Chaldean five-year-periods, he would not have involved it in the riddle of a mathematical calculation. Whence, then, did the inspired author derive his numbers? We can hardly

⁵ Lehrbuch der Sternkunde, München, 1832, p. 210f.

believe that they were revealed in the proper sense of the word. We must assume that they were taken from the historical tradition of the nation, just as St. Luke gathered the material for the Third Gospel by diligent historical research.

That there existed such national traditions among the Hebrews we rightly infer from the existence of similar tradition in contemporary nations. Sanchoniathon, the "philosopher of Tyre," has given us the Phenician account of the origin and development of human civilization. And what is more, he has clothed it in the form of a genealogy, though he cannot have intended it as an actual family history. Its links consist of abstract conceptions, occupations and natural objects connected with modes of life. First, we read of the birth of man, whose food consists of fruits; secondly, there appears lineage or family; thirdly, fire is produced and employed by man; fourthly, mountain chieftains are in the ascendancy; fifthly, settled life gains more prominence with clothing of skin, floating on logs and worship of the elements; sixthly, hunters and fishermen become numerous; seventhly, we meet with ironworkers, fishing implements, rafts of logs, sails and incantations; eighthly, bricks are made of clay and houses are roofed; ninthly, husbandry flourishes, houses are enlarged and dogs begin to be used in hunting; tenthly, towns are built and flocks are tended; eleventhly, civil life is regulated by law and salt is used; twelfthly, the alphabet is introduced and the ship is completed; thirteenthly, medicine is practised. It is true that the Biblical picture of these stages of civilization is less detailed; still, the first four chapters of Genesis present certain analogies: Firstly, we read of the creation of man, whose food consists of the fruit of trees, whose object of worship is God; secondly, sin enters into the world; thirdly, man's clothing consists of skin; fourthly, man has to till the soil and tend the flocks; fifthly, the first community or town is mentioned; sixthly, we encounter nomad shepherds with movable tents, musical instruments, copper and iron working. On the whole, the points of contact with the Phenician genealogy are found in the genealogy of the Cainites.

In the second book of his history Berosus, the Babylonian priest of Bel, enumerates the ten Kings of the Chaldeans who reigned before the Flood. We give his naked list:

- | | |
|---------------------------------------|--|
| 1. Alorus (10 sars).....36,000 years | 6. Daonus (10 sars).....36,000 years |
| 2. Alaparus (3 sars).....10,800 years | 7. Edoranchus (18 sars)64,800 years |
| 3. Amelon (13 sars).....46,800 years | 8. Amempsinus (10 sars).36,000 years |
| 4. Ammenon (12 sars)..43,200 years | 9. Otiartes (8 sars).....28,800 years |
| 5. Megalarus (18 sars)..64,800 years | 10. Xisuthros (18 sars)...64,800 years |

It appears from this that Berosus's list agrees with the Sethite genealogy in the fifth chapter of Genesis as to three main points: First, it is restricted to antediluvians; secondly, it enumerates ten

persons; thirdly, it terminates with the hero of the Flood. But the discrepancies between the list of Berossus and the Sethite genealogy are more striking than their agreements, though they may be reduced to five: First, the names in the one list have not as yet been identified with the names in the other; secondly, the Chaldean list registers Kings, the Sethite genealogy does not indicate the rank of its members; thirdly, in the Hebrew genealogy each member is related by blood to its predecessor and successor, while in the Chaldean list the descent of the government from father to son is asserted in two instances only, namely, from the first King to the second, and from the ninth to the tenth; fourthly, the Hebrew text gives a genealogy of the human race from its origin, while the Chaldean list begins with the first King of Babylon; fifthly, the Hebrew genealogy extends over 1,656 years=86,400 weeks, while the Chaldean list covers 120 sars=432,000 years=86,400 "sosses of five years."

When the Semitic tradition is fully known the foregoing two catalogues may be proved to be fundamentally different, having been constructed for different purposes, yet crossing each other at various points on account of their dealing with prominent persons belonging to the same historic age and to the same country, and by reason of their culminating in the same individual. Or, when the accretions and transformations of centuries are removed, and the true relation of the two catalogues is come to light, they may be found to represent the same tradition. It is not with a view of settling the question as to the relation of the two catalogues that we have placed them side by side in the preceding paragraph; any attempt of this kind would be premature at our present state of imperfect acquaintance with Semitic traditions. But we have drawn attention to the ancient Phenician and Chaldean genealogical lists in order to convince the reader that similar traditional material must have been at the service of the author of the Book of Genesis. Supposing then that the author derived his chronology from traditional sources, what are we to say of its value?

Writers of the most conservative school find here a clue for harmonizing the differences existing between the numbers of the Hebrew, the Samaritan and the Septuagint texts. They suppose the existence of a religious year beside the civil year, and the possibility of sars, sosses and Dogstar cycles different from those commonly admitted. We cannot here enter into the minutiae of these computations; the following samples will show their weakness and their strength. Adding the number of years elapsed between the Flood and Thare to the number of years intervening between man's creation and the Flood, we can construct the following harmony:

Hebr. text: 1656 common years+222 common years=1878 common years.

Septuagint text: 2256 sacred years of 7 months+1052 sacred years=3308 sacred years=1876 common years.

Samaritan text: 1356 common years+922 sacred years=1876 common years.

Again, the present lunar cycle=6,793.99 days=18.8 years. Assuming then that the Chaldean sar is identical with a lunar cycle, and keeping in mind that according to Chaldean tradition 120 sars elapsed in antediluvian times, we find that this period extended through $18.8 \times 120 = 2,256$ years, *i. e.*, the number of years found in Josephus' Septuagint text. Later on, we are told, on account of more accurate computation, the number 2,256 of the Septuagint was changed to 2,242. Now, 2,242 sacred years of nine months are equal to 1,657 solar years, the number found in the Hebrew text. Again, 2,242 sacred years of seven months are equal to 1,307 solar years, the number found in the Samaritan text. It is clear that this whole theory of computation is based on arbitrary assumptions; besides, it omits all the particular data given in the sacred texts for the individual patriarchs.

Its profane traditional sources, therefore, do not give us any certainty as to the true numbers of the chronology of Genesis. But, once more, what is the value of the data in the Book of Genesis derived from such traditional sources? We need not mention the opinion of those who endeavor to save their historicity by explaining the names of the patriarchs as denoting so many periods of time, and by admitting that in the genealogical lists many names may have been omitted. Such an assumption does not seem to be compatible with the present interlaced condition of the numbers in the fifth chapter of Genesis. We do not take exception to the supposition as such that names have been omitted in the lists; for we know that such omissions are found in the genealogy contained in the first chapter of St. Matthew. But unless we assume also that in Genesis v. the patriarch begotten before the lacuna was homonymous with the patriarch begetting after the lacuna, we deal with impossibilities.

At the same time, we do not agree with those writers, Catholic though they be, who find no history in the first eleven chapters of Genesis, except in the account of original sin which they believe on the authoritative declaration of the Church. We know that the name "myth" is deprecated as applying to this portion of the Sacred Book; but "myth" is excluded only in so far as it implies the idea of polytheism. In point of fact, Father Lagrange is of opinion that the inspired writer did not believe in the historicity of his own account of Lot and of Lot's daughters. Father Durand does not wish to go the whole length of Father Lagrange's so-called *méthode historique*. However, he points out religious instruction as the

principal aim of the Bible, and in this the Bible is infallible. But outside the sphere of religious truth, the inspired writers often report mere opinions, relative truths, current traditions, without guaranteeing the truthfulness of all this. Another Catholic writer advances the theory that the inspired writer or writers of Genesis intended only to transmit legends and to give a fixed form to traditions without guaranteeing the truth of either. The truthfulness of the account implies, therefore, nothing more than that it gives us both legends and traditions as they existed at the time of its composition. A fourth commentator agrees with the last view substantially. He only stipulates that due notice ought to be taken of existing ecclesiastical traditions or authoritative declarations concerning Biblical texts and passages.⁶

Perhaps our readers are afraid to adopt any of the four views of the last paragraph in an unqualified way. Probably an article by Father Prat will meet their dogmatic difficulties concerning this question. He points out that the Bible does not intend to teach us science; hence it utilizes mythology in the same way in which profane books use it. Again, it does not correct the errors of popular views on matters of science. But what are we to think about the truthfulness of the historical portions of the Bible? Father Prat tells us that the inspired historians are neither mere compilers of preëxisting material nor are they critical investigators; they steer a middle course between these two extremes. At times they show expressly that they do not guarantee the truthfulness of the historical narrative they transmit. Father J. Brucker, too, reminds us that the infallibility of Scripture is limited to genuine statements of the inspired writer himself. Still he does not wish to maintain the general proposition that the inspired writers merely copy preëxisting material without making it their own. However, they may even *implicitly* signify that they are not to be held responsible for the truthfulness of their sources. According to Father Brucker, such an implicit refusal of guaranteeing the veracity of their text they give in case of the genealogies. At the same time, the reverend author expresses his dissent from the views of Lenormant, Loisy and Lagrange.⁷ These views are both moderate and sufficient to solve any real difficulty that may be urged against the truthfulness of the genuine sense of Sacred Scripture. Yet they are not new;

⁶ Cf. M. J. Lagrange, O. Pr., *La méthode historique, surtout à propos de l'A. T.*: Paris, 1903, V. Lecoffre, 129, pp. viii.+221.—A. Durand, S. J., *L'autorité de la Bible en matière d'histoire*: *Revue du clergé franç.*, Dec. 1, 1902.—*La veracità storica dell' Esateuco*: *Studi religiosi*, ii., 4, 281-332.—Venard, in *Revue du clergé franç.*, April 15, 1903, 521f.

⁷ F. Prat, S. J., *Progrès et Tradition en Exégèse*; *Études xciii.*, 289-312; 610-623.—J. Brucker, S. J., *L'inspiration et l'infaillibilité de la Bible en matière historique*; *Études xlv.*, 222-233.

they are only a special application to historical texts of a principle generally admitted by writers on exegesis.

Supposing then that Father Prat's *reservatio explicita* or Father Brucker's *reservatio implicita* of the inspired writer is applicable to the genealogical tables in Genesis, how does it affect Professor Driver's argument against the truthfulness of the chronology of the Book? The reader remembers that the argument may be expressed in the following dialectic form: The chronology of Genesis fixes a certain year for the creation of man, assigns a certain list of ages to the antediluvian patriarchs and places a certain interval of time between Abraham and the Exodus. But man cannot have been created in the given year, the patriarchs cannot have lived up to the various ages assigned them and the interval of time between Abraham and the Exodus is much longer than that allowed in Genesis. Hence the chronology of Genesis is untrustworthy; and since the minor premise is proved by external data the untrustworthiness of Genesis springs from the Book's inconsistency with external data of contemporaneous history.

According to the exegetical principle which we developed above, the term "chronology of Genesis" is used by Professor Driver in one sense in the major premise of his syllogism, and in quite a different sense in the conclusion. In the major premise the expression means "the chronology copied by the author of Genesis from profane sources without being guaranteed by him;" in the conclusion it signifies "the chronology guaranteed by the author of Genesis, whencesoever it may have been derived." By a similar method of reasoning the Professor might prove that the Psalms profess atheism, that the Fourth Gospel teaches the uselessness of prayer on the part of sinners, and that the Book of Job teaches false doctrine. Still, no sane reader will believe that the psalmist makes his own the expression "there is no God," though he gives it as the utterance of sinners; or that St. John endorses the statement of the blind man, "God does not hear sinners;" or, again, that the author of the Book of Job subscribes to all the falsehoods uttered by Job's friends. The personal attitude of the author of Genesis to the data of the genealogies may be less clear than that of the psalmist to the blasphemies of the godless, but it may not be less certain. For the certainty of truth and its evidence do not always keep the same pace. Our investigation into Professor Driver's major premise shows, therefore, that the conclusiveness of his argument is based on an ambiguous term; that it is less solid than a house built on sand.

We have not as yet dealt with the minor premise of the Professor's argument. No doubt much may be said for and against the alleged incongruities involved in the chronology copied by the author of

the Book of Genesis without being endorsed by him. Our present study is too long already to allow us a minute investigation into the various elements which constitute the alleged incongruities. To say the least, however, we do not think that the chronological data of Genesis for the creation of man, for the duration of life at the time of the early patriarchs and for the interval between Abraham and the Exodus involve as many and as striking incongruities as Professor Driver would have us believe. We are, however, glad to notice the Professor's admission that "*in the abstract*, either 2501, 2936 or 3066 B. C. would be possible for" the Flood.

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BELGIUM TO-DAY.

BELGIUM, though its territory seems petty to American eyes, is as marked a nationality in Europe as any of the greater nations. It hardly occupies a quarter as much ground as Pennsylvania, but it supports as large a population as that State. It has besides a distinctively national character of its own such as one would look for in vain in an American State. Its government, its industries, the social life of its people, its art and languages are all of its own pattern, as much as French ways are distinct from English or German ways. When one crosses the frontier of Belgium he finds himself in a new and distinct nationality, whether he comes from France, Holland or Germany. Coming for the first time from France, which is closer in its ways to Belgium than any other foreign nationality, the difference between the French and Belgian people impresses itself very clearly on any observer. The bearing of the Belgian country people is slower and clumsier than that of the people of Picardy or Normandy. There is less politeness, though no special rudeness, and less vivacity of gesture and speech. The houses are mostly of brick, with slate or tile roofs, and built with a square formality and finish very unlike the picturesque stone farmhouses of Northern France. Though French is the official language and spoken everywhere in the way of business, a new-comer finds it impossible to follow the conversation of the Belgian working classes even in Brabant. The Walloon dialect commonly used is as different from French as Lowland Scotch is from English. The universal prevalence of two languages in all public notices and

street names is also remarkable through Belgium. The second language is not the Walloon, but Flemish. Four-fifths of the Belgian people use either Walloon or Flemish in their ordinary conversation, and less than a fifth is confined to the knowledge of a single language.

It is common for foreigners to call Brussels a little Paris, and certainly it has more resemblance to the French capital than to London or New York; but still it is very far from being a copy of the city by the Seine. The distinctively national character of Brussels is as marked as that of Turin, and it is also distinctively a capital city, not a provincial one like Marseilles or Liverpool. Its language is certainly French, and the architecture of much of its newer parts is in French style, but there are numerous points of individuality that stamp it as belonging to a different nationality. In population it is far larger than any French city except Paris, and fully equal to Naples or Madrid. Including the suburbs, it counts nearly seven hundred thousand inhabitants, and in architecture, streets and general cleanness it compares favorably with any city of its size either in Europe or America. The great boulevards are as fine as those of Paris and the general appearance is entirely modern. Though Brussels dates its origin to the ninth century, its metropolitan character has been acquired only during the last century. Ghent, Bruges and Liege were greater Belgian cities than Brussels at an earlier date. It is only since the present kingdom was established that Brussels has taken undisputed prominence as a national capital. Most of the more important public buildings belong to the nineteenth century.

The Palace of Justice is the greatest of modern Belgian constructions, and it holds rank with any of those of either London or Paris during the nineteenth century. It covers nearly twice the space of the new London law courts, and surpasses the Houses of Parliament alike in mass and general effect. The site was well chosen on a hill, and the massive building dominates the city in a way that neither London nor Paris can show anything to rival. It was begun in 1866 and finished in 1883, at a total cost of about ten million dollars. The space occupied, including the open courts within the exterior buildings, is over six acres, or rather more than the area of St. Peter's in Rome. The gilded crown of the central dome rises four hundred feet in the air. The style is classical, but treated with artistic originality, and the general effect is singularly dignified and monumental. The façade on the Rue de Regence is especially impressive. The interior is finished as carefully as the exterior, and there is a solemn dignity about the whole that is scarcely matched in any other public building of modern times.

The Bourse is another fine modern building in the lower part of the city, and the royal palace, the Parliament House, the royal library and the museums are other monuments of Belgian building activity during the last seventy years. Brussels has, moreover, no lack of monuments of the older time that show she is no mushroom growth. The City Hall, built in the fifteenth century, if smaller than the modern Palace of Justice, is even more interesting in its architecture and contents. Its central tower rises three hundred and seventy feet in the air and is surmounted by a colossal statue of St. Michael trampling on the dragon. The Gothic architecture of the Hotel de Ville, with its wealth of pinnacles, arcades and traceried windows, is in striking contrast to the solemn colonnades of the modern palace, but it is hard to say which is more attractive. The Grand Place, on one side of which the Hotel de Ville stands, was the old centre of Brussels city life. It resembles the Piazza del Campo of Sienna or St. Mark's Place in Venice in many respects. The group of public buildings around it are in Gothic or renaissance styles, and recall vividly the old municipal life of the Middle Ages. The House of the King or Breadmarket is in flamboyant Gothic, though rebuilt on the old model within the last thirty years. It is now used as a municipal museum of relics of old Brussels. Five or six guild halls of various styles surround the Grand Place and give it a strong old world look, though the traffic of modern life goes on with unceasing flow around.

The Place of St. Gudule, not far from the Grand Place, is still more mediæval in its character, though also serving its modern uses as a centre of city life to-day. The Church of St. Michael and Gudule is to Brussels what Notre Dame is to Paris. It dates from the eleventh century, though rebuilt in the thirteenth, and, like most old churches on the Continent, added to and repaired according to the wants and tastes of succeeding generations. The front was largely restored about the middle of the last century, but the original character was faithfully preserved. St. Gudule's is a fine example of the mediæval Gothic, though not equal in dimensions to many of the French cathedrals. It is about three hundred and fifty feet in length by a hundred and sixty in width. The front, like that of Notre Dame at Paris, is formed of two towers without spires, with the gable of the nave between them. The towers rise two hundred and twenty feet in the air and the general effect is massive and imposing. It is not, however, the finest church in Belgium, and must yield in importance to the Cathedral of Antwerp and in constructive boldness to the great church of Malines.

The difference between the French and Belgian capitals, in spite of their common language, is marked in numerous points sugges-

tive of differences in national character. Cafes are much fewer in Brussels than in Paris or most towns of Northern France. Beer houses and estaminets are more numerous. Though the population of the Belgian city appears to be more temperate than that of either English or American towns, it is less so than most French or Italian communities. The small number of drug stores is also a feature which strikes an American observer in Belgium. It seems to imply that there is less taste for medical appliances and artificial aids to health than in America or England. The number of children to be seen everywhere in Belgium, including the large cities, is very noticeable to any one coming from Paris. At the hours for going to school or coming from it the streets of Brussels are quite thronged with youngsters carrying their school books. One notes nothing of the kind in the French capital. The small proportion of young children in the population of the French capital is strikingly illustrated by this fact. It has an important bearing on the future which is drawing much thought in modern France. When Belgium began its national existence as a kingdom it had scarcely one-eighth of the population of France under Louis Philippe. To-day it has nearly a fifth, and the numbers are growing at a rate of about one per cent. annually, while in France under the Republic there is scarcely any change in the number of the population. It was not so under the old conditions of France any more than it is at present in Belgium or Italy.

In the popular appreciation of art and artistic works and the support given to both by the government in all branches France and Belgium are much alike. The distinctive character of Belgian art is, however, jealously maintained. The Royal Museum of modern paintings on the Rue Royale is almost entirely filled with the works of Belgian artists of the last two centuries. That of ancient painting is more cosmopolitan, but much less so than the Louvre. The list of museums in Brussels is a very long one for the size of the city, and may favorably compare with the art collections of Paris in consideration of the respective population and resources of the two cities. The remarkable Wiertz Museum, made up of the productions of a single artist now dead forty years, is distinctively original in its huge canvasses. It is not easy to follow the painter's ideas in most of the subjects, which are a strange mixture of religious thought and wild socialistic ideas, but the work is marked with great power of drawing and color. In the intelligent laying out of the public parks and boulevards and the decoration of the public squares the Belgian capital is not inferior to the French, though, of course, on a smaller scale. The monument to the Counts Egmont and Horn is the most famous of the sculptures

of Brussels. It must be admitted that Belgian art is stronger in painting than in sculpture as a general rule.

One of the most interesting relics of the old Brussels is the Gate Hal, once the fortified entrance through the city wall and now used as a museum of arms of all kinds and ages. The most interesting single object in the collection is perhaps the bow of Montezuma brought by Cortez from Mexico as a gift to Charles V. and presented by the latter to the municipality of Brussels. The Belgians have a marked taste for preserving stray bits of the old fortifications which surrounded all their towns in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries as museums. Antwerp has its Steen and Malines its Brussels gate, both closely resembling the Hal gate of the capital, and, like it, used as storehouses of art objects.

The works for making a seaport of the Belgian capital are very remarkable. Through political conditions the kingdom has very little seaboard, and the want of commercial outlets is keenly felt. Antwerp is the chief port of Belgium, but it is situated on a river at some distance from the sea, and both banks of that river are territory of Holland below Antwerp. The port of Antwerp itself is an artificial one, due mainly to Napoleon's despotic energy. The docks, which occupy a hundred and forty acres, with eleven miles of quays in masonry, owe their beginning to his rule, though their development has been chiefly the work of the modern kingdom. The Belgian Government has planned a similar series of inland docks at Brussels, joined to the North Sea by a ship canal of sufficient depth for the largest ocean steamers. The works have been so far advanced that their completion is expected within three years, when the capital will become actually a seaport. The works needed to effect this are more considerable than the much-talked-of ship canal from Liverpool to Manchester, which was expected to revolutionize the conditions of both cities twenty years ago. The Belgians seem little inclined to talk loud over their public works, however large. The quays constructed at Antwerp during the reign of the present King represent an expenditure of nearly twenty million dollars, and the city itself has become one of the great ports of Europe in spite of the disadvantage of its situation. Its commerce annually reaches an amount between three and four hundred million dollars, and is steadily increasing. About ten million dollars were spent between 1859 and 1864 in land fortifications for the defense of Antwerp, which is now one of the strongest places of Europe. The public works of the little Belgian nation can well compare with those of any of the great powers during the last half century.

The distinctive national character of the Belgians is shown in

their form of government not less than their art and languages. Monarchy under a limited form was adopted by the **representatives** of the nation when it shook off the unnatural connection with Holland more than seventy years ago. The revolution then carried out was inspired by the very natural desire of people to manage their own affairs according to their own judgment. Belgium had been united to Protestant Holland in one State by the mechanical statesmen of the Congress of Vienna, who after the fall of Napoleon undertook to arrange the different nationalities of Europe on mere geographical principles. The four millions of Belgians resented this arrangement and took advantage of the second revolution in France, which put Louis Philippe on the throne instead of Charles X., to drive out the Dutch troops and officials. The different cities had been for centuries trained in local self-government, but, like the American colonies after the War of Independence, they had no national central authority. The representatives of the provinces on calm deliberation decided to establish a monarchy for that purpose, and further they invited a foreigner, Leopold of Saxe Coburg, to take the office of King. The choice was largely directed by the need of conciliating the adjoining powers who might be tempted to crush out the new State if its people showed any pronounced tendencies to novelties in governmental theories as then existing. The result showed the wisdom of the Belgian revolutionary legislators, as their country has had no foreign war since its establishment as a kingdom. The German Confederacy has since been replaced by an empire, and the French constitutional kingdom become in succession a republic, an empire and a republic again, while the Belgian people has been quietly developing itself without either foreign war or domestic revolts for seventy years. The present government keeps friendly relations alike with the military empire of Germany and the Republican Government of France, but the Belgian people show no desire to imitate the fashions of either. There seems little desire for republican institutions in any part of Belgium to-day. There is no exaggerated feeling of loyalty to the royal family such as may be found in England or some of the German States, but Leopold himself is decidedly popular. He is regarded as a man of sound common sense, who has done a good deal to develop the general interests of the country and has no desire to change the existing order for his own ambition. The act of the Belgian Parliament which permitted the King of the Belgians to become the independent ruler of the Congo State in Africa, not as a Belgian colony or crown domain, but a personal principality under his own control, is sufficient evidence of the popular feeling towards the King. The King's own conduct since, in leaving the

Congo State as a legacy to Belgium after his own death, is equally good indication that he has no special desire of enlarging the powers now enjoyed by the Chief Executive under the Belgian Constitution. It is also noteworthy that the possession of a large foreign domain by the Belgian King has led to no special expenditure from the revenues of the Belgian people. The State makes no pretense to create a navy, the favorite device for spending public money in most modern countries, including our own. The revenue of Belgium is quite large for its size, amounting to about eighteen million dollars, and its army is kept on a footing quite adequate to the defense of the country against invasion; but since its first establishment in 1831 the Belgian kingdom has spent literally nothing either on foreign wars or preparations for such. The burthens of taxation are little more than half those of England and not a third those of either France or Italy in comparison to the wealth of each country. The public debt has been contracted exclusively for internal improvements, such as the railroads, which are managed on excellent business methods and are not only gradually paying their own cost, but also giving a substantial annual contribution to the public treasury. It seems largely due to the low rate of taxes and the economical administration of the public service that the Belgian people continues to increase so rapidly in both numbers and wealth, despite the very limited territory it occupies.

Belgium is, and always has been, rather a union of self-governed communities having common interests and sympathies than a centralized nationality. Ghent, Bruges, Liege and Antwerp have each constitutions and histories of their own as distinct from that of Brussels as Belgium itself is from its French or German neighbors. The monarchy and Parliament occupy little more place in the general national political life than the Federal Government does in our own. In practice, the different municipal governments, with their unbroken traditions of administration and strong local patriotism, are nearly as important in Belgium as the different State governments are in our own system. In that respect Belgium is in marked contrast to its French neighbors. It has more in common with Italy, where Florence, Milan and Venice are all distinct centres of political life and thought, though the exaggerated centralization devised by Cavour to bring about the so-called "Unity of Italy" tries to suppress local self rule. There is much less centralization among the seven millions of Belgians living in a country scarcely larger than Massachusetts than there is in modern Italy, with its thirty-two millions of people. What makes the respect for the local governments of the Belgian people more remarkable is that they have been living practically as members of one State since the

beginning of the sixteenth century, while Italy had nine independent governments up to the Franco-Austrian war.

It may well be that the experience of forming nationalities and governments on surveyors' lines which Belgium had in its union with Holland kept the framers of its present government from any needless interference with the local institutions of their country even when seeking to give it a sufficiently stable central government. Possibly, too, Italians may learn the same lesson after further experience of the cost of modern centralization in government and its effect on the national life of communities long used to independent existence. Liberty is quite consistent with national unity, as Belgium shows, but it needs careful watching to prevent the old story of gradual encroachments on liberty in the name of national greatness. United Italy is a more imposing geographical nation than any of the old Italian republics, but it well may be doubted whether it will show either the material or mental development of the Italy made up of Florence, Venice, Milan, Bologna, Genoa and the other self-ruled republics of the fifteenth century. The Belgian statesmen seem to have been more successful in combining local self-government and traditions with new national government than Cavour and Victor Emmanuel were in United Italy.

A trip from Brussels to Antwerp gives a good idea of the diversity of elements that make up the population of the little Belgian kingdom. The distance is less than twenty-eight miles and the express carries you through in three-quarters of an hour, but at that distance one finds a city as different in type, manners, and even in language, from Brussels as Turin is from Paris. The country between shows nothing to suggest any change in population. It is all flat land beautifully tilled in small fields and dotted with brick farmhouses of a uniform plainness. The city of Malines or Mechlin stands about the middle of the road, and the Cathedral of St. Rumbold raises its colossal mass and huge tower high above a mass of low roofs. At Antwerp the train stops in a station now being replaced by a magnificent construction like the Central Depot at St. Louis. Numerous lines of tramways run in every direction, and the boulevards near the station are exceptionally wide and lined with magnificent buildings. This, the newer portion of the city, has much resemblance to the new quarters in Brussels, but as one goes towards the river and cathedral the general appearance of the town, while still one of business and solid construction, changes to the types of an older day. Following the broad avenue of the Place de Meir and its continuation, the Rue des Touliers or Shoen straat, one reaches the Place Verte or Grass Market, the old centre of Antwerp. It is an open square of no very large size, with a fine

statue of the painter Rubens in the middle and the Cathedral of Notre Dame touching it on one side. Passing through a narrow street to the front of Notre Dame one finds the monument of another celebrated Flemish artist, Quinten Matsys, and a well enclosure in iron wrought by him before taking up painting as his art. Though the names of streets are generally given in French as well as Flemish, as in Brussels, one notes the higher importance given to the latter in Antwerp. Many of the store signs are only printed in Flemish, and even on the streets the French equivalents are often omitted. Very little French is spoken on the streets, though it is available in the stores and hotels, and there seems a certain jealousy of its use among a large section of the people. The faces are distinctly of a different national type from those seen in Brussels. They are broader and more blondes among the men, are heavier in movement and less courteous in manner, and there is much less courtesy shown towards women by the workingmen than by the same class in Brussels or any French town. It is not so much roughness as a certain rather stolid slowness that does not think of putting itself to any trouble for others.

The buildings around the grass market are many of them also a distinctively Flemish type, with high gables towards the streets and peculiar windows. The views of old Brussels in the Royal Museum seem to show that a similar type prevailed there largely even as late as the formation of the modern kingdom, but it has now been replaced by French styles. The Antwerp Flemings seem to have little liking for anything French and cling tenaciously to their old national ways in most things. Modern appliances and methods, however, are commonly used in business and public works, and the population is fully as active and industrious as that of Brussels. Cafes and restaurants of the French style are few and far between, but old-fashioned inns and ale houses are common and the latter well frequented. The use of dogs as beasts of draft is very common and very odd to strangers, but it is also seen in Brussels and seems rather a Belgian than a distinctively Flemish practice.

The same may be said of the chimes on the churches, which are exceptionally numerous and large in Antwerp, but are also to be found in every Belgian city in Walloon as well as in the Flemish provinces. At the time of my visit it was carnival, and the chimes of the Cathedral and other churches played almost constantly all through the days. The Cathedral has two chimes, the most important being in the tower on the right hand of the main portal. It is composed of ninety-nine bells, the largest weighing nearly ten tons and the smallest scarcely four inches in diameter. The largest was put in place in 1520, when the Emperor Charles V. stood sponsor for

its dedication. The love of the music of chimes is an old taste in Belgium, but it is still strong at the present day.

The Cathedral of Antwerp is the finest church in Belgium and much superior in finish to St. Gudules at Brussels. The main tower rises about four hundred feet above the street. The building itself is three hundred and eighty feet long by two hundred and ten in width. Its dimensions accordingly are less than those of several French and Italian cathedrals, but still it ranks among the great churches of the world in a distinguished place. The tower is very graceful and ascends by well proportioned stories, the upper in open work of stone. It has no spire, and, indeed, that feature of French and English Gothic churches seems not to have been much adopted by the Belgian church builders. The interior is in five aisles and very solemn. It is a perfect storehouse of art works apart from its architectural features. The Descent From the Cross of Rubens is the most precious of these, but it is only one of many masterpieces. A favorite fashion with the Belgian old artists was to paint sacred pictures in tryptichs. The centre picture is flanked by two others on hinged panels which can be closed so as to cover all three from view. The Descent of the Cross is of this kind. The custom still remains among the modern Belgian artists.

The carved pulpit of the Cathedral is of colossal dimensions, the design being to symbolize the five parts of the world. The employment of elaborate wood carving on the pulpits is another distinctive feature of Belgian architecture. They are to be found in nearly every church, large or small, throughout the country, and many are wonderfully elaborate in their execution. The carved stalls in Antwerp are also fine, but are quite modern, as is the great organ, which was only built in 1891. The Cathedral itself was begun in the middle of the fourteenth century, but not finished till the reign of Charles V. The monuments and interior decorations are of every age since down to the present time. The value of the Cathedral as a historical and architectural monument is fully recognized by the whole population, but its quality in those points is subordinate to its daily use as a place of divine worship. It is a peculiarity in nearly all the Flemish churches that the more important pictures are covered with curtains, which are only drawn on Sundays and holidays. Another distinctive Belgian custom is that all churches are closed at midday and only opened for evening devotions at a later hour, if at all. The rules of order are strictly enforced during divine service, and strangers or guides are warned against disturbing the worshipers at such times by loud talking or walking around the buildings. Most of the sermons in Antwerp are given in Flemish, and the church notices and circulars in the

same, sometimes with a French translation, but often without it. There seems less inclination among the Flemings to consult the needs of their French-speaking countrymen than the latter show in the Walloon provinces, where Flemish translations of public documents are always given.

The attendance at all the churches in Antwerp was very large. On Sundays and holidays nearly the whole population seems to attend Mass, and even on weekdays the churches are fairly well filled. Nearly as many men as women attend certain Masses on Sundays, and the general behavior of both in the churches is very respectful. The contrast in this respect is marked between the Belgian Catholics and those of Southern Italy, where there is a constant movement among the congregations that is disturbing to a stranger, though it seems not to be noticed by the native worshippers. The church attendance in Brussels was about the same as in Antwerp. There seems no difference in this respect between the Flemish and Walloon sections of the Belgian population. There is much devotion and also a good deal of irreligion among Belgians, but it does not seem as if either section of the population by race differed materially from the other in this respect:

Though the Cathedral occupies the first place for size and exterior beauty among the Antwerp churches, that of St. James near the Place de Meir is probably richer in works of art. Rubens is buried in one of its chapels, and one of his finest pictures decorates its altar. The communion table of marble in the Chapel of the Blessed Sacrament is one of the finest pieces of sculpture in Belgium. It was executed in the seventeenth century by Verbruggen and Kerrickx. The main altar of the church is also by the latter and equally fine. The twelve chapels of the nave, erected by different guilds and decorated at their expense, are filled with artistic works by the chief Flemish artists. The Church of St. Augustine has the famous mystic marriage of St. Catherine by Rubens and Van Dyck's Ecstasy of St. Augustine among its treasures. Its pulpit was carved by Verbruggen. The Jesuit Church of St. Charles Borromeo was designed by Rubens and is also rich in paintings. The artistic spirit of the Antwerp population is fully attested by the interior of nearly every one of the numerous churches in the busy commercial city.

The Royal Museum in a magnificent new building contains more masterpieces of the great artists Rubens and Van Dyck than that of Brussels. Quintin Matseys, Teniers, Giotto, Fra Angelico and a host of minor names are represented among its fifteen or sixteen hundred paintings. The Museum Plantin Moretus is one of the most interesting monuments of old Antwerp. It is the old resi-

dence and printing office of one of the early master printers who established himself in Antwerp in 1555 with the privilege of printing the Mass books for all countries subject to the Spanish Crown. He built the house in 1579 and it has been used continuously as residence and printing office till 1867. The city purchased it after that time from the owners and now maintains it as a public museum. The series of printing, engravings, bindings, vignettes issued by the house during the three centuries of its existence are all shown in order, as well as the old and newer types, foundries, presses and other implements of the printers' craft. Portraits and paintings by the chief Flemish artists are plentifully spread through the building. It gives a perfect realization of the life and recreations of the wealthy manufacturers of the olden time in Belgium, when ability in a craft ranked equally with a patent of nobility. Rubens was at one time one of the employes of the Moretus printing house, and his well-known Lion Hunt hangs over the mantelpiece of one of the halls. The strong artistic taste of the old merchants of busy Antwerp is strikingly illustrated in the Plantin Moretus house. So is their religious spirit in the character of the paintings which successive generations of master workmen chose to deck their apartments.

The carnival celebration in all Belgian cities is another curious instance of the tenacious hold which old customs keeps on this modern population so marked for its business habits and commercial prosperity. It began at Antwerp on Sunday and was in full swing in Brussels on Tuesday night, when it suddenly closed at midnight. The city seemed given over to the children, who paraded the streets in bands, singing old popular ballads and occasionally emptying boxes of cut papers on one another. Others let down long streamers of paper from the upper windows along the streets, and the more active passers amused themselves in trying to catch them. Many grown people joined in the fun with the same zest as the children, and masks and fancy dresses of a cheap kind were generally worn by young and old. There was much noise and the church chimes constantly rang during the evenings of Shrovetide, but there seemed little or no roughness and but little drinking while the carnival went on. On Ash Wednesday morning the churches were thronged and crowds presented themselves to receive the sign of Lent's commencement. The press generally affected to treat the whole celebration as childish, but the popular taste was entirely independent of newspaper comment and all classes gave themselves up to the time-honored practice with thorough gust and apparent enjoyment.

The difference in character between the two chief cities of Bel-

gium finds numerous parallels throughout the kingdom. The cathedral city of Malines, midway between Brussels and Antwerp, has as distinctive an appearance from either as though it were the capital of another country. It is quite large, having nearly sixty thousand inhabitants, but its streets and squares are wholly free from the bustle and busy work of either of its neighbors. Malines has its own history and monuments as well as Brussels or Antwerp, and its people go their own way without seeming to care for the example of their wealthy fellow-communities. The Cathedral, which, by the way, is the metropolitan see of Belgium, is nearly as large as Notre Dame at Antwerp and considerably older. Its front tower is of enormous mass, and though somewhat lower than Antwerp's in height, it surpasses it in the boldness of its construction. The lower story, which forms the entrance to the nave, is fully a hundred feet in height inside. The tower was to have been completed with a spire surpassing in height any other in the world, but it has not been carried out. The materials were prepared by the people of Malines in the reign of Philip II., but the Dutch Calvinists captured them in 1580 and carried off the stones as prize of war. The shrine of St. Rumbold was carried off at the same time. Church robbery was a common practice with the Dutch insurgents at the time. The interior of the Cathedral is very grand. The life of St. Rumbold is depicted in a series of twenty-four wall paintings, and a crucifixion by Van Dyck hangs over the main altar. The carved pulpit and chimes of Malines are very fine and quite distinctive in character. The general architecture of the city is the same and seems handed down directly from the Middle Ages. The remarkable cleanliness of the streets and good condition of both houses and pavements indicates that those particulars of city life are not as distinctively modern as Americans seem to believe generally.

The same distinction of local character in buildings and habits of life and the complete absence of desire to copy the methods of other communities is noticeable in nearly every city and town of Belgium. Ghent, Bruges, Liege, Louvain and Namur have each as distinctive an individuality as Brussels or Antwerp, and none shows any inclination to make itself a copy of the modern capital. It is remarkable how little this local independence and the difference in language between the north and south of Belgium seems to affect the general national unity. In the general administration parties are less organized on lines of locality than even in the United States. The value of local independence combined with federal protection is fully appreciated by Belgians of all the provinces, and there seems none of the desire for increased centralization of government

powers and State made uniformity in language and education that is so conspicuous in most of the larger European nations. The Belgians, like the Swiss, seem to find ample security for all the national unity they need in the common traditions, sympathies and interests of all the provinces of their little country. Their statesmen do not seem to think the patriotism of the population would be increased by forcing Flemings, Walloons and French citizens to speak a common tongue, as the Russian Czar and German Kaiser are dragooning their subjects into the exclusive use of Russian and German tongues respectively.

The common sympathies and traditions of all the Belgian provinces are certainly very strong and distinctive. All have been trained in local self-government for several centuries, and each regards its possessions as the most important public object in life. They have also, with the exception of Liege, all been under a single central government since the fifteenth century. During the two hundred years' connection of Belgium with Spain and the subsequent hundred with Austria the Belgian municipalities were always regarded by their rulers as a country apart and governed by its own laws. The twenty-five years' connection with France after the great Revolution did not leave any special affection for new theories of government on either Walloons or Flemings. The French standards of weights and measures and the principles of the code Napoleon in legal practice were the chief elements of social life that the Belgians have drawn from the revolutionary movement of 1789. When the forced union with France ceased on the fall of Napoleon, the Belgians desired to be left to follow their own traditional ways in government and society. The politicians of the Congress of Vienna assumed that they would accept monarchy under a Dutch king as readily as they had the regime of Austria and Spain, but the event showed their shortsightedness. The religious sentiment of the Catholic population revolted against the Protestant arrogance of their new ruler, and the attempt to drill them into a close union with neighbors of totally different sympathies and ideals. The Revolution of 1830 gave Belgium a unity such as she desired, and the mutual jealousies of the great powers of the day secured them in its possession. They show no desire for further change either in the extent of their country or its form of government. They have had long experience of the cost as well as the advantages of forming part of a great power. While connected with the Spanish and Austrian monarchies, though their domestic institutions were little interfered with, Belgium for two centuries was the favorite battle ground of Europe. French, English, German, Spanish and Dutch armies were almost constantly

battling on Belgian fields or besieging Belgian towns from the day of Rocroi in 1643 to that of Waterloo. The present population knows the history of its fathers and is quite convinced that the cost of connection with a great power is greater than the value of its protection.

Beside this national tradition, which is remarkably strong, the practice of municipal self-government, respect for law, and common occupations are the same in all parts of Belgium and make strong ties to keep the various elements together. Though a monarchy, Belgium has no aristocratic element with political power in any part of its territory. The difference in wealth between different classes certainly exists, but it is less marked and wealth more evenly distributed than in any other European country. The farming classes are more important an element than in England, and the interests of the commercial and manufacturing classes more evenly balanced with them. In England the majority of the population depends for its food on foreign importation. Belgium, in spite of its small extent and the densest population in Europe, is still able practically to feed its people from the fruits of its well tilled soil. The steady growth of population is a good index of the general prosperity under these conditions. The small number of Belgians who find it desirable to leave their country to seek a living is another. There are under thirty thousand Belgians from a home population of seven millions now settled in the United States. The fifty millions of Germany have sent two millions to our shores, and the proportion from Ireland is still greater. The emigration from the empire of William is just ten times that from the Belgian kingdom. Low taxation, little military conscription, equitable laws fairly administered and an intelligent and honest administration of the public funds are points in which Belgium can claim marked advantages over any of her neighbors.

The present condition of parties in Belgium seems singularly placid. Universal suffrage has been established since 1893, and there seems no special modification desired by any large body either in the laws or administration. The Ministry now in power is known in the country itself as the Conservative party, and it has a substantial majority in both branches of the Legislature. The chief points on which the opposition appears to criticize the party in power are those connected with public education. Here as in most other countries at the present day the schools are the prize for which the world is contending with the spirit of religion. The great mass of the Belgian people are Catholic. Less than fifteen thousand profess themselves members of any other Christian denomination and the Jews are few in number, but among the Cath-

olics in Belgium, as everywhere else, are found many who make their material interests more important than their religious practices. While practical Catholics hold religious and moral instruction the most important parts of the education of the young, a good many nominal Catholics grudge the time given to these points as a waste of energies that might be more profitably employed in teaching how to make money and get on in life. The question has been the same under different forms in every age since the foundation of the Christian Church. The pagan world of the Roman Empire opposed the Christian religion as a whole as opposed to the temporal interests of its government and society. The acceptance of Christianity as a whole by Constantine, as head of the Roman State, was followed by the attempt of his Arian successors to modify its doctrines and control its internal administration. The German Catholic successors of Charlemagne sought ineffectually to secure the nomination of the Bishops and even Popes; the Eastern Emperors and modern Russian Czars rejected the unity of the Church and claimed the right to name its local heads as a part of their political dominion. To-day it looks as though the desire to mould Christianity to temporal ideas had chiefly taken the form of excluding its teaching from the training of the young. The political rulers, be they monarchical or republican, everywhere seem to seek control for themselves of the public schools, which are becoming more important than before in the training of the young. In some cases concessions are made to the claims of the clergy to give religious instruction, in others they are rejected and religion even excluded from mention, but everywhere there is more or less of a contest between the world and the Church for control of the schools. The late legislation of the French Republican Government in France is one example of the war going on everywhere. In Belgium at present the Catholic sentiment of the majority finds itself represented in the government and public education is conducted on Catholic lines. We need not forget, however, that in Catholic as well as in other countries the formation of majorities and the policy of administrations depends on many other causes than the public general conscience. In Belgium only a few years ago the Masonic Cabinet of Frere Orban made a determined attempt to exclude religion from the schools of Catholic Belgium, much as the Ministry of M. Combes is now trying to exclude it from those of France. The Belgian people was to all appearances as sincerely attached to its religion then as it is now. In like fashion there seems no special difference between the general sentiment of most Frenchmen towards the Church to-day and the public sentiment of thirty years ago, when a Parliament of Catholic representatives voted the site

for the votive Church of the Sacred Heart at Montmartre. The success of parties in elective governments depends on a multitude of considerations, among which the moral or religious attitude of the representatives is but one, and not often an overwhelming one. If we American citizens ask ourselves how many of our representatives, federal, State or municipal, owe their election either to their moral or religious principles, we may understand how Catholic countries like France or Italy may find their representation controlled by men hostile to the influences of religion, which the majority of people believe in.

In Belgium to-day the administration and parliamentary majority are distinctly Catholic, and it seems likely that this state will continue indefinitely. It may be changed, however, from unexpected causes without any sensible change in the general attitude of the people towards the Church. The religious orders are well represented in Belgium and enjoy as much popular consideration as among American or Irish Catholics. The teaching orders appear to enjoy exceptional favor and their schools are largely attended. At one church in Brussels the building was filled every day at 9 o'clock Mass by pupils of a Christian Brothers' school. The attendance at daily Mass of grown people of both sexes was very large at nearly all churches in Brussels, Antwerp and Malines equally. It was larger than in Dublin and very much larger proportionately than among the Catholics of any American city. The proportion of men was less than that of women on weekdays, but nearly equal to it at the Sunday Masses and Vespers. The behavior of the congregations everywhere was attentive and devout, and very much resembled that of Irish congregations at home. The number of communicants and at the confessional was as large proportionately as in Ireland, or more so. Special devotions seemed numerous and largely attended, and the number of votive offerings for favors received from heaven was conspicuous in many churches. In that of St. Gudule at Brussels one nave was entirely wainscoted with them in the form of marble blocks of a definite size and form. The general regard of all classes for the churches and religious monuments as cherished objects in the national life was impressive as well as strange to a visitor from America. The general air of desolation and coldness around the numerous churches in London is in striking contrast with the thronged attendance at Belgian and also Parisian churches during several hours of each morning.

One notices a rather authoritative tone in the episcopal addresses and similar documents in the Belgian and French churches. The Bishops speak as having authority in a way which seems new to an

American, but seems quite natural to the Catholics of Europe. The entrance to the churches is everywhere free, though collections are taken up at certain Sunday Masses, and in Belgium the chairs provided for seats are paid for at a sou each. The support of divine worship being regarded as a public necessity, it is provided for like other public needs from the general revenue. Before the French Revolution the Church's support was provided for by property of its own usually given at different periods by individuals who thought such a form of liberality a work of public charity. As most of this property was seized by the French revolutionary government during its dominion in Belgium, Napoleon when restoring the churches to public worship provided for their maintenance and the support of the clergy out of the general taxation. The grants were made as an equivalent for the confiscated property, just as interest was paid on funds invested in the national credit book. The Italian government of Cavour followed a similar course, and most of the sums paid for the support of public worship in Italy are in the form of interest on public bonds issued to pay for church property appropriated by the government.

The general adherence of the Belgian people to the Church through all the changes of the last twelve centuries is a remarkable historic fact. During most of the time its conditions have been more like those of modern times than almost any other part of Europe, and to-day its prosperity and growth as a modern commercial nation is superior to that of any other European land. That such prosperity is not inconsistent with public practice of the Catholic religion Belgium to-day is a striking proof. That its people will continue to retain the faith seems as likely as anything human can be. The storms of Protestantism and those of the French Revolution have passed over Belgium since St. Gudule's and Notre Dame were raised, but neither has interrupted the continuous Catholic worship that was going on within their walls before America was discovered or Luther born, and is going on there to-day.

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ST. THOMAS AND THE ARAB NEO-PLATONISTS.

AMONG the many features that lend a peculiar charm to the age of the Renaissance, the revival of Platonism is surely one of the most characteristic and conspicuous. And though there are many that make a great figure in that eventful and stirring epoch, there are few who can be said to count for more in the movement of the time than such men as Marsilio Ficino and Pico della Mirandola and their fellow Platonists of the famous Florentine Academy. For some, indeed, the great masters of architecture and sculpture and painting may possess a more powerful attraction, while others would fain lay more stress on the political life of the age and the daring schemes of statesmen and reformers. Yet whatever may be the worth of these men of art and of action, it may still be true that the main source of the Renaissance movement must be sought among the new disciples of Plato and Plotinus. For in the golden dreams of these idealists, in their new sense of beauty, the poets and artists of the age found a fresh fountain of inspiration. At the same time, the very fact that the standard of Plato was thus set up against the dominant school of Aristotle may perhaps be regarded by some as an important step in the emancipation of the mind of Europe, and the first faint beginning of modern thought and modern philosophy. For this reason we fear that many loyal disciples of the mediæval masters must look with little favor on Ficino and his fellows, and hold them as arrant rebels against the sovereign authority of Aristotle and harbingers of the intellectual anarchy of these later ages. And on the other hand the ardent advocates of progress and modern thought, whatever may be their own fashion of philosophy, will probably feel that they owe a deep debt of gratitude to Ficino and his fellow Platonists of Florence.

It may be readily allowed that in all this there is some measure of truth. The Platonists of the Renaissance quickened philosophy with a new life by recalling the minds of men to ideas that had been overlooked or neglected in the days of decadent Scholasticism. And at the same time they sounded a note of independence which has perhaps had some echoes in which they could have but little sympathy. But we venture to think that both the good and the evil have been somewhat exaggerated. This is scarcely surprising. For a just appreciation of the revolution wrought by the Renaissance Platonists, postulates a right understanding of the mediæval system which, to some extent at least, they superseded. And in the whole range of the long and varied history of philosophy there

are few periods and few systems that have been more strangely misunderstood and more persistently misrepresented than mediæval Scholasticism.

It is a common reproach among recent writers that the Schoolmen proceeded from supposed general principles and abstract propositions instead of examining the facts of nature for themselves. If there be any truth in this charge, it must be confessed that the fault has been visited by a full measure of poetic justice. For the Schoolmen and their works have been very generally judged as they themselves are said to have treated the wider world of life and nature. The student of literary history will readily remember much that has been said or written on this subject, from the days of Bacon and Hobbes down to our own time. There is, we may say, a veritable tradition against Scholasticism and a goodly array of authorities as imposing and peremptory as any *catena* of the Church Fathers. And it might almost seem somewhat presumptuous to question the validity of the verdict. But how many of those who condemn the Scholastics as dry formalists and servile followers of Aristotle can be said to speak from their own knowledge of the matter? How many have gone behind the conventional formula and examined the facts for themselves? To speak frankly, the servile following of Aristotle by the mediæval school is a traditional myth that can scarcely bear the rude blasts of scientific criticism.

Unfortunately the common misconception on this matter is by no means confined to the foes of Scholastic philosophy. For there is good reason to suspect that some of our neo-scholastics have but a slender first hand acquaintance with the mediæval masters whom they profess to follow; and too often, like their opponents, they seem to interpret the past by a conventional formula rather than by an examination of the facts of history. In any case, their treatment of modern philosophy, their disparagement of Plato and their account of the orthodox Aristotelianism can only help to confirm and perpetuate the prevailing conception of Scholasticism as a dry, narrow and rigid system. To judge by the language of some popular text-books and esteemed professors, one would suppose that European thought had gone hopelessly astray since the days of Descartes, while in an earlier and happier age the more logical methods of the Schoolmen had proved an effective safeguard against similar dangers. In this way we fear that the extremists on both sides unite their forces in broadening and deepening the divisions that separate the various schools of philosophy. Were it only for this reason, it will be well to lay stress on some forgotten or neglected aspects of mediæval philosophy to mark the mental inde-

pendence and the broad sympathies of the greater Schoolmen, and especially to note the presence of a large element of Platonism in the imposing fabric of Scholastic Aristotelianism.

It is true, indeed, that the name of Aristotle looms large in the history of mediæval thought and literature. In Dante's pages we see him throned above all other teachers as the "master of them that know." His works were sedulously studied and luminously expounded by Albertus Magnus and St. Thomas and the other mediæval masters. And though he was not followed with blind faith or unreasoning submission, much weight was undoubtedly attached to his authority. At first sight it might well seem that the current account of the matter was well warranted. And in the face of these facts it needs some hardihood to insist that after all Aristotle was only one of the sources of mediæval philosophy, and to suggest that the Scholastic doctors owe a deep debt to the teaching of Plato and Plotinus.

Yet strange as it may seem, the very fact that Aristotle is cited at every turn as "the Philosopher" may tell a different tale, and remind us how much the Schoolmen had learnt from other masters. Those who are acquainted with the writings of the Arabic philosophers are aware that this was the common title by which they were wont to distinguish the Stagyrte. And St. Thomas and his great compeers when they speak of Aristotle as "the Philosopher," are but following in the wake of Alfarabi and the other Eastern writers. Thus it may be said that the peculiar reverence in which Aristotle was held by the Latin Schoolmen was a traditional legacy handed down to them by the Arabs. In these matters there are some points on which there is always room for difference of opinion. But this at least is a plain question of fact, on which the works of the Arabic writers offer abundant evidence. And it is another indisputable and strangely significant fact that these same Arabs who hold this language of Aristotle are themselves deeply imbued with the tenets of Neo-Platonism. Dr. Dieterici, of Berlin, who has done much excellent work in editing the original texts of these Muslim metaphysicians, does not hesitate to describe them as essentially Neo-Platonists.¹

However we may account for this curious inconsistency, it may at least serve to warn us against attaching too much importance to

¹ "Die sogenannten arabischen Philosophen," d. h. die arabisch schreibenden Philosophen des Chalifenreichs, sind ihrem Wesen nach Neoplatoniker (nicht, wie man bisher angenommen, Aristoteliker mit neoplatonischer Beimischung). Cf. Alfarabi's "Philosophische Abhandlungen," aus Londoner, Leidener und Berliner Handschriften. Herausgegeben von Dr. Friedrich Dieterici. Leiden, 1890. Einleitung, p. xix. Elsewhere the learned editor characterizes one part of their teaching as "Plotinismus in aristotelischem Gewande," p. xx.

the Aristotelian framework and phraseology of our own Scholasticism. If Arabic authors could thus profess their devotion to Aristotle while their minds were filled with Platonic idealism, it is to say the least possible that something of the same kind, if not in the same degree, may have occurred in the case of Western Schoolmen by whom they were succeeded. But what was in fact the origin of the confusion? How came these Arab followers of Proclus and Plotinus to speak of Aristotle as the supreme philosopher? The answer is, after all, sufficiently simple. By some strange error of copyists or translators some of the chief Neo-Platonist writings were wrongly ascribed to Aristotle. Thus the high honor paid to the Stagyrte did not rest entirely on his own genuine achievements. The master hailed as the Philosopher by mediæval eclectics and Neo-Platonists was something more than the Aristotle whose works we know. Like the Francis Bacon honored by some dreamers of our own day, he was largely a mythical author who wrote other people's books as well as his own. And we may shrewdly suspect that much of the homage paid to him was meant not for the real writer of the *Organon* and the *Ethics* and *Metaphysics*, but for the supposed author of such Platonic writings as the "Book on Causes" and the "Theology of Aristotle."

The Latin Schoolmen, it is true, were not directly under the influence of this misconception. For St. Thomas frankly recognizes the Platonic origin of the "Book on Causes," and the only Aristotelian works which he had himself read and expounded were undoubtedly genuine. Still the high-sounding title of the Philosopher may be said to have carried with it some echo of the original error. And the Schoolmen still credited Aristotle with the authorship of some profound theological works the fame of which had come to them from their Arab forerunners. In this connection it may be of interest to cite the following passage from the Angelic Doctor's treatise against the views of Averroes (Ibn Ruschd) on the unity of the intellect: "*Hujusmodi autem quaestiones certissime colligi potest Aristotelem solvisse in his libris, quos patet eum scripsisse de substantiis separatis, ex his quae dicit in principio 12. Metaphysicae, quos etiam libros vidimus numero 14. licet nondum translatos in lingua nostra.*"²

This brief and passing allusion is certainly somewhat obscure, and leaves some room for the conjectures of the curious reader. What were these fourteen books seen by St. Thomas in a language which he could not understand? And what was that language, Greek or Arabic? At one time it would have been no light matter to find a solution of the problem. But there can now be little

² *Opusculum XVI. De Unitate Intellectus contra Averroym.*

doubt that the work in question was the Arabic "Theology of Aristotle," a book which played an important part in the evolution of mediæval philosophy. The discovery and translation of this curious treatise was one of the chief philosophical achievements of Renaissance scholarship. The elegant version or paraphrase in the classic Latin of the day which first appeared in 1571 was subsequently reprinted in Du Val's edition of the works of Aristotle.³ The translator at once identified the work as that to which St. Thomas refers in the aforesaid passage. In this he was followed by Du Val, who, however, justly rejects the opinion of the too partial translator in favor of its Aristotelian origin. As the learned editor says with some reason, if St. Thomas had seen a translation he could hardly have accepted the book as genuine. Little seems to have been said on the subject in the next two centuries. For the main stream of European thought was turned in another direction, while those who kept up the tradition of Scholastic philosophy were, for the most part, content to linger on the text of St. Thomas or the later developments of his disciples without paying much heed to these side questions of literary history.

But recent research has thrown fresh light on the neglected field of Arabic philosophy. Many manuscripts of these old Eastern philosophers have long lain forgotten in our public libraries. But at length some progress has been made in the task of editing these writings and bringing them within the reach of philosophical students. Dieterici, Zenker and other kindred scholars have already done yeoman service in this field. But we fear that their labor has hardly received the attention it deserves. Neither Orientalists nor students of philosophy can ever be very numerous, and the number of those who are both must needs be still more restricted.

In some respects the most important of these publications is an edition of the Arabic text of the "Theology of Aristotle," a copy of which now lies before us.⁴ A careful comparison of this text with the aforesaid Latin version of Carpentarius will only serve to show the substantial accuracy of the work done by the Renaissance scholar. In some respects, indeed, he would seem to have allowed himself some little freedom, as we might have surmised from the ease of his language, which does not read like a too servile rendering of an Arabic original. And there is, moreover, some difference in the method of division. But this may possibly be due to discrepancies in the Arabic MSS.

³ "Aristotelis Libri XIV. de Secretiore Parte Divinæ Sapientiæ, secundum Ægyptios. Qui illius Metaphysica vere continent; cum Platoniciis magna ex parte convenientia. Opus ex Arabica lingua in Latinam conversum, per Jacobum Carpentarium Claromontanum Bellovacum."

⁴ Die sogenannte Theologie des Aristoteles. Aus Arabischen Handschriften zum ersten Mal herausgegeben von Dr. Fr. Dieterici. Leipzig, 1882.

Apart from the intrinsic value of the book itself and the importance of its influence on the course of mediæval philosophy, there is surely a strange interest and satisfaction in seeing before us the lost work which St. Thomas saw in an alien tongue with wistful regret that its contents were not available—*nondum translatus in lingua nostra*.

Not content with the labor of editing the Arabic text, Dr. Dieterici has also prepared a German version, which has been published separately, and he has traced the book back to its original source, the *Enneads* of Plotinus. At the same time he points out that some Aristotelian elements are blended with these extracts from the work of the great Neo-Platonist. This is clearly the case, for the student of Scholastic philosophy will readily recognize such familiar terms as *actus et potentia*, *materia et forma*, etc., strange as they may appear in an Arabic garb. But in spite of this admixture the main substance of the book is plainly Platonic.

If the learned labors of Dr. Dieterici have provided us with the Arabic text of this "Theology of Aristotle" and have thrown some light on the obscure question of its origin, they have also shown us plain traces of its influence on the current of mediæval philosophy. This is specially apparent in his subsequent edition of some of the treatises of Alfarabi. Though somewhat overshadowed by such later masters as Avicenna and Averroes, Alfarabi was undoubtedly one of the foremost Arab philosophers. And if his own writings have long been neglected, the influence of his teaching had left its mark on those who came after him. Averroes was known by the distinctive title of "the Commentator," but his forerunner, Alfarabi, was not less distinguished by his devotion to the text of Aristotle and his success in expounding its meaning. Dr. Dieterici tells a curious story which may be cited in illustration. Avicenna had read Aristotle's *Metaphysics* forty times without rightly grasping its meaning. But one day in the market a bookseller pressed him to buy a little book which he refused at first, till he was told that it must be sold and he might have it for merely three drachms. The book was a treatise of Alfarabi on the *Metaphysics*. All Avicenna's difficulties disappeared as he read its pages, and he hastened to give alms to the poor in gratitude for his fortunate purchase.

It is worthy of note that this successful expounder of the *Metaphysics* was a firm believer in the authenticity of the "Theology of Aristotle," a work on which he set great value. One of the chief pieces printed by Dr. Dieterici is an essay on the "Agreement of Plato and Aristotle;" and here the aforesaid "Theology" is one of his chief sources of evidence. And certainly when once we admit

now that we know its true origin, the evidence is scarcely so convincing. Still it may be said that after all the book does do something to attenuate the antagonism between the two schools. It points to the presence of an agreement on some fundamental principles, and shows the possibility of blending together the best elements of both Aristotelianism and Platonism. In this way we may incline to agree with Dr. Dieterici that Alfarabi was to some extent right in his main thesis. And, looked at in the light of later philosophic history, this little tract of Alfarabi on the unity of Aristotle and Plato is full of deep interest. With all their errors and limitations, these mediæval Arab masters could rise above the narrowness and littleness of schools and parties and grasp the unity of all true philosophy.

Whatever may be said of Alfarabi and the other Arab masters, the "Theology" could not have any such direct influence on the Western Schoolmen, because, as St. Thomas said, it was "not yet translated into our language." It was otherwise with another monument of Arabic Neo-Platonism, the celebrated "Book on Causes." The two works, indeed, may be said to invite comparison. In their mixed origin, in outward form and character and in the substance of their teaching they have much in common. And it is scarcely surprising to find that in some instances the one has been mistaken for the other. Both alike are compendious summaries of Neo-Platonic teaching, drawn from the two chief masters of Platonic theology, the one from Proclus and the other from Plotinus. And both passed for a time in the Arab schools under the name of Aristotle. But unlike the "Theology," the "Book on Causes" speedily found a competent Latin translator. And its influence on European philosophy was deep and far-reaching. It is true its Platonic origin was detected at an early date, but it first made its way in the West under the assumed authority of Aristotle, and it may be said to have had a full share in what Launoÿ calls the varied fortune of that philosopher in the mediæval universities. It was publicly burnt at Paris as a source of heresy. And at a later date it was made the subject of a careful commentary by St. Thomas Aquinas, who made good use of some of its leading principles in his other writings. The story of this book in all its changing fortunes is full of curious interest, and it certainly played an important part in the making of mediæval philosophy. For this reason it may be well to make it the subject of a separate study. But for our present purpose it will be enough to notice it as one of the main sources of the stream of Platonism that runs through the writings of St. Thomas and the other great mediæval Schoolmen.

At this time of day it may seem somewhat superfluous to insist on the study of St. Thomas. But perhaps there is some danger that some of us may confine our attention to the pages of the *Summa* or the Sentences, and pay little heed to such a minor work as the Commentary on *De Causis*. This is surely unfortunate, for a careful study of its pages should go far to dissipate more than one venerable superstition on the subject of the Scholastic writers. The very fact that the Angelic Doctor did not disdain to spend all this care on this much condemned manual of Arabic Platonism is surely a sufficient answer to those who accuse the Schoolmen of narrowness and make them servile followers of Aristotle. At the same time the way in which he sets aside the mistaken view that the book was Aristotle's and points to its true author and his careful comparison of the Arabic adaptation with Morbeka's version of the original work of Proclus should be enough to show that the mediæval masters were not altogether wanting in sound scholarship and intelligent criticism.

While the "Book on Causes" was clearly one of the chief sources of Scholastic Platonism, it does not by any means stand alone and unaided. For there are two other forces that possibly had a still more potent influence in this direction. And it is significant that St. Thomas takes care to mention them both in his commentary on the work of Proclus. Need we say that we refer to the writings of St. Augustine and those that bear the name of Dionysius, the Areopagite? It would be hard to find any other authors more deeply imbued with Platonism than these. Yet few were held in higher esteem or more sedulously studied in the palmy days of mediæval Scholasticism. *Quidquid dicitur in Platone vivit in Augustino*. And on every page of St. Thomas we are reminded of his veneration for the authority of the great African Father. Scarcely less can be said of the Dionysian writings, which St. Thomas had studied side by side with Aristotle's philosophy at the feet of Albertus, and which at a later day he made the subject of his commentaries and used to good purpose in his own theological writings.

Modern critics who justly reject the authenticity of these Dionysian works have pointed out that the unknown author was clearly a Neo-Platonist, and that his writings present a curious resemblance both in matter and in style to those of Proclus. But here St. Thomas has forestalled their judgment. For the way in which he cites Dionysius in the aforesaid commentary on Proclus shows that he had recognized the affinity of the two authors.

It is true that both here and elsewhere in his works St. Thomas great mystery of the Incarnation when he tells us how the Word that is the food of angels became the milk for babes.

takes care to dissociate himself from the system of Platonic ideas which he regarded—*pace tanti viri*—from the mistaken standpoint of Aristotelian criticism. None the less he frankly adopts much of the fundamental teaching of these eminently Platonic authors. And it is significant that the page on which he most plainly admits the presence of a true element in Platonism is in his preface to the Commentary on "The Divine Names" of Dionysius. This is natural enough, for here he stands on the threshold of a book to which he is deeply indebted, while its author owes much of his wisdom to the teaching of Plato and Proclus and Plotinus.

In all that has been said here we have no wish to dispute the influence of Aristotle on St. Thomas and the other great mediæval Schoolmen. This would surely be as false and as futile as the too common view that they were under the undivided sway of the Stagyrte and owed no allegiance to his mighty rival. And there would be less excuse for this mistake than for the other. For the Aristotelian elements in Scholasticism are more plainly to be seen on the surface, while much of the Platonic wisdom of the Scholastic doctors came to them by circuitous courses through early Christian Fathers and nameless Arab philosophers.

Enough has been said for the present on the literary history of mediæval Platonism, although we have been compelled to touch but lightly on some of the sources and to turn aside from some curious problems. But before we take leave of the subject it may be well to ask whether we cannot find some definite instance of the adoption of a Platonic principle in the philosophy of St. Thomas and his fellow Schoolmen. Happily the answer is not far to seek. For the student who is familiar with these sources of Scholasticism will readily remember more than one case of this assimilation of Platonic teaching. But for our present purpose we may confine our attention to the pregnant principle that whatever is received in anything is received according to the manner of the recipient: "*Quidquid recipitur per modum recipientis recipitur.*"

As is well known to all serious students of mediæval philosophy, this maxim plays an important part in the Scholastic theory of human knowledge. It is not too much to say that in the hands of St. Thomas it becomes the key to the whole problem. It had been said of old that what is known must be in the mind that knows it. And some had apparently formed the crude conception that material things themselves were present bodily in the mind of man. But, as the Schoolmen justly said, "*Cognitum est in cognoscente per modum cognoscentis.*" Both this more special form of the maxim as well as the wider, "*Quidquid recipitur,*" etc., are used with effect by St. Thomas on many pages of his writings.⁵ But whence does

this principle come? From Aristotle? St. Thomas himself takes care to guide us to the true source, for he constantly adds the reference to the "Book on Causes," the book of which he says in his Commentary that it does not come from Aristotle, but from "Proculus the Platonist."

In the old Latin version used by St. Thomas the passage stands as follows: "Et similiter aliqua ex rebus non recipit, quod est supra eam nisi per modum secundum quem potest recipere ipsum, non per modum secundum quem est res recepta."⁶ In the original text of Proclus we read: καὶ γὰρ ἑκαστον ὡς πέφυκεν οὕτω μετέχει τῶν κρείττονων, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὡς ἐκεῖνα ἐκείνᾳ ἔστιν.⁷

Some years ago Canon Nicholas Kaufmann, of Lucerne, drew attention to the importance of this principle in a paper published in the *Philosophisches Jahrbuch der Gorres-Gesellschaft*.⁸ The immediate subject of the paper was the Scholastic theory of knowledge, and it was chiefly in this connection that the writer was led to speak of this principle of Proclus, in which he finds the germ of the whole Scholastic theory. At the same time he points out that it is susceptible of important applications in other fields, as in religious symbolism or in pastoral instruction. In the last named region it may warn the teacher against the hopeless endeavor to instill abstract metaphysics into the minds of children or simple rustics. They may indeed receive the self-same sacred truth that nourishes the mind of the theologian, but each one must needs receive it in his own way. It may be well to note that St. Thomas opens his *Summa* with a text which enforces this very principle.

It may be said, indeed, that this fundamental principle to which Proclus did but give philosophical expression lies at the root of the Sacramental system, in which men receive spiritual graces under earthly symbols. This has been luminously stated in some well-known words of St. John Chrysostom: "For if thou hadst been without a body He would have given thee bare and incorporeal gifts; but because the soul is joined with the body He gives thee intelligible things in them that are sensible." In like manner we may find St. Augustine applying the same principle to illustrate the Aristotelian authorship of the book it should go far to prove that the two great Greek philosophers were in agreement. But

⁶ Cf. *Summa Th.* 1ma. 2dae. Qu. v., art. 5. 2da. 2dae. Qu. xxiii., art 6., ad. i., etc.

⁶ De Causis, Lectio X. c. f.

⁷ Procli Successoris Platonici Institutio Theologica, c. 173 c. f. An English version of this little book may be seen in the second volume of Taylor's translation of the Platonic Theology of Proclus.

⁸ Vol. II., 1889. It was at the instance of the same worthy society that Dr. Bardenhewer had previously published his critical edition of the Book on Causes in Arabic, Latin and German.

In other directions, again, it may be seen that this principle will give some clue to the weary labyrinth of heresies and divergent philosophical systems. It has recently been used to illustrate the historical evolution of Biblical exegesis; and what was said on that subject will obviously apply to the successive changes in theological conceptions which are familiar to all students of doctrinal development.

It may be well to observe, as we quit this fascinating subject, that this extended application of the principle of Proclus is in no wise alien to the mind of the great Platonic philosopher. For as it stands in his own pages it is no isolated utterance, but is closely connected with the main lines of his theology. The participation in divers degrees and many and various modes, of light and beauty and goodness that are only found in fulness in the One Infinitely Perfect Being—this is a thought that runs through the whole system of Proclus and his master, Plotinus. It is, indeed, the primal principle of mediæval Platonism.

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A PIECE OF NATURAL HISTORY FOR WORSHIPERS OF THE MONEY-GOD.

THE Natural History of Pliny, which furnished so many illustrations to spiritual writers in the Middle Ages, often rendered this service at the expense of scientific accuracy; but one of its statements we may pick out in these days of gigantic greed for money as true in fact and in moral significance. In the 18th Book, Chapter 6, we read: "The *Latifundia* were the ruin of Italy, as also of the provinces. In Africa six families were in possession of half the land when Nero had them put to death." A very natural bit of history. Certain "money-grubbers," as Lamb called such people, got immense territories into their hands, and then there came a stronger tyrant than themselves, who pitilessly despoiled them, not simply by taking their wealth from them, but by taking them from their wealth, dismissing them out of the business world altogether at the hands of the executioner. So it was among men of whom it had been in an extreme sense true that

Mammon led them on,
Mammon, the least created spirit that fell
From heaven; for even in heaven his looks and thoughts
Were always downward bent, admiring more

The riches of heaven's pavement, trodden gold,
Than aught divine or holy else enjoyed
In beatific vision. —Paradise Lost I., 680-684.

Nero lived when the Empire was not yet ruined, but when its western portion was on its way to ruin, from causes which had only been checked in their action by the work of Augustus. Some writers have said that Rome was broken to pieces, not by external, but by internal forces of disruption; others, contrariwise, have said not by internal, but by external; and between the two parties, perhaps, we may mediate by the suggestion that if the inner conditions of the Empire had been sounder it would have been able to stand the shock of the barbarians, but without that shock the unhealthy body could have managed to keep itself in existence. At any rate, economic disease was one main cause of the death, and its manner of working is well exhibited in the history of Roman taxation.

To collect revenue is expensive and is liable to the grossest abuses on the part of collectors who are not duly supervised. The attendant dangers are very serious. The Roman Republic, though it did many things cleverly and energetically, was weak in the department of tax-gathering; and in its supineness—for that seems to be part of the account—it employed farmers of the revenue who became responsible for a fixed sum and made as much profit as they could for themselves out of the transaction. As the evil grew the power of reform diminished. It would be an error to suppose that there was a well-meaning government suffering from the misdeeds of its agents, for the Governors shared in the corruption. The profits of speculators were enormous; bankers and publicans became all-powerful, controlling by their wealth the Senate and the popular vote. The Equestrian order dominated over the class above and the class below itself; they were, says Ihne,¹ "a new class of Roman citizens, gradually formed, distinct from the nobility proper and from the mass of the people. Special circumstances favored the formation. In the financial administration of the republic this raising of various revenues, the public works and contracts, were entrusted to private enterprisers, who, of course, were obliged to have large sums of money at their disposal. With the growth of territory these financial operations assumed huge proportions, and numerous capitalists combined to form companies for the purpose of conducting them. By custom and by law men of senatorial rank were not allowed to embark in such speculations. The lower class of citizens lacked, of course, the means to do so. Thus it happened that the wealthy capitalists acquired a political and social importance which made them conspicuous and influential. They had frequent relations with the magistrates. The disorder that always

¹ History of Rome, Vol. IV., pp. 365-368.

reigned in the public finances made it easy for both parties, magistrates as well as contractors, to fill their pockets. It rarely happened that men like Cato² tried to introduce order and enforce honest dealings in these transactions. Evidently the capitalists as a class had become so powerful that the government could not easily afford to slight or offend them." Thus the government was really not a power separate from the extortionate money-makers, to which one might look to check their extravagances, but a part of their machinery for the more effective working out of their iniquity. If an independent, incorrupt statesman arose it would be due to the failure of the general plans. Gibbon, Vol. III., chap. 13, in dealing with the economic situation under the Empire, mentions the inequality in the distribution of burdens and of lucrative posts. He notices the 190 enactments in the Theodosian Code (Lib. XII., Tit. I.) to retain the unfortunate class called *curiales* in their position. He declares that "whatever was honorable or important in the administration of the revenue was committed to the wisdom of the prefects and their provincial representatives; the lucrative functions were claimed by a crowd of subordinate officers, some of whom depended on the treasurer, others on the Governor, and who in the inevitable conflicts of a perplexed jurisdiction had frequent opportunities of disputing with each other the spoils of the people. The laborious offices which could be productive only of envy and reproach, of expense and danger were imposed on the Decurions (*curiales*), who formed the corporations of the cities and whom the severity of the penal laws had condemned to sustain the burden of civil society." It was the provinces that chiefly suffered under the oppressive system.

In the provinces between the politically unimportant plebeians and the Senators possessed of wealth, and bearing offices of dignity with emolument and without burden, there were placed the unfortunate *curiales*, whose hard lot it was to have to fill the municipal posts which they were fain to escape. They had charge not only of roads, buildings, bridges and police, but more notably of the finances, having to gather the revenue often to their own loss, for they had to make good deficits, and these were many. The central government named the sum to be raised, then the local *curia* was bound to furnish the amount required as best it could out of a people in which the rich senatorial order enjoyed large exemptions.

With this state of things it is useful to compare the condition of affairs in France as described by Taine for the time preceding the outbreak of the French Revolution. Of the system of taxation he says: "C'est une machine à tondre, grossière et mal agencée, qu'il

² Cato was not averse to money-making for himself in the provinces.

fait autant de mal par son jeu que par son objet. Et ce qu'il y a de pis, c'est que les taillables employés comme instrument fiscal doivent eux mêmes se tondre et s'écorder. Dans chaque paroisse il y en a deux, trois, cinq sept qui sous le nom de collecteurs sont tenus de repartir et de percevoir l'impôt. Nulle charge plus onéreuse: chacun par protection ou privilège tâche de s'y soustraire. Les communautés plaidant sans cesse contre les refractaires et, pour que nul ne puisse prétexter son ignorance, elles dressent d'avance pour dix et quinze ans le tableaux, des faitours collecteurs." (L'Ancien Regime Livre IV., chap. ii., N. W.)

It is added the cause of heavy imposts on the poorer citizens was the exemption of the richer from contributing their share, an unjust principle which is the opposite of that followed in the English income tax.

Under the Roman Empire sometimes the *curiales* made out of their opportunities unjust gains, as the revenue farmers had done under the Republic; but, on the whole, they were losers by their position, and they schemed to escape the hereditary misery of the situation to which the imperial laws held them fast bound. "The Emperors," says Mr. Dill,³ "were fully aware of the importance of a class on which had been laid such a weight of responsibility. No fewer than 192 enactments in the Theodosian Code, together with some of the Novellae, deal with the position and duties of the *curiales*. The *curiales* are described by Majorian as the *Nervi reipublicæ, viscera civitatum*, although successive Emperors had to lament that these sinews of the commonwealth were daily growing weaker. Conventional language, indeed, or policy kept up the fiction that this position of the *curiales* was an enviable and dignified one. When the *curiales* were deserting their functions, abandoning their ruined estates and trying to hide themselves among the serfs, they were loftily reminded by the imperial legislator of the stain which they were attaching to their splendid origin. From Constantine to Honorius the Emperors were vainly struggling to stop a movement which had begun long before Constantine and which threatened the curial body with utter depletion. The flight of the *curiales* was quite as menacing a danger of the later Empires as the inroads of the barbarians. Even entrance into the ranks of the clergy was forbidden by Christian Emperors as a means of escape from municipal offices and from those many restrictions on property movement and relations of business which together formed a most grievous state of bondage. Nor were the Emperors themselves happy while tightening the yoke on the necks of their officials, the *curiales*, and allowing the Senators to grow richer and

³ "Roman Society in the Last Century of the Western Empire," p. 252ff.

richer by the misfortunes of the small landowners. "The very number of edicts," says Mr. Dill, "directed against corruption discloses the impotence of the Emperor. Heavy fines, banishment, torture, death are all ineffectual to check the inevitable corruption of a bureaucratic government. A volume might be written on the subject of financial corruption in the last century of the Western Empire. When one wanders through the maze of enactments dealing with fiscal oppression, malversation and evasion, one knows not whether more to pity the weakness of the government or to wonder at the hardened cupidity and audacity of the classes which leagued together in plundering both the treasury and the taxpayer and, let us add, some of the tax-gatherers. The *curiales* were, indeed, sufferers, yet certain members of the class managed to be sharers in the general plunder while they discharged the office of collecting the imposts.

These are sad records, though they are but the natural history of avarice wherever that vice is free to pursue unhindered its pitiless course. It is characteristically without any mercy; it is a cursed appetite, this *auri sacra fames*, devouring all that comes to its maw remorselessly. Though it is not one of the topics upon which Aristotle has greatly enlarged, yet in the fifth Book of Ethics, chapters I. and II, he mentions *πλεονεξία*, whereby a man covets more of eternal goods than is due to him, and becomes *πλεονεχτας και άισο-*. The wrong is not simply in seeking after inequality; for no moral law prescribed an equal division of property or forbids even a large accumulation of wealth. We cannot say that *ipso facto* a millionaire is a sinner, nor can we lay down any limit to his permissible income. Yet we can safely declare that such fortunes are very often acquired under circumstances that are wrong. Money-making is a kind of sport, rousing an intense passion to win in the game; there goes with it an inordinate appetite for reputation as a financier who can outwit all rivals, while the love of power which accompanies wealth is apt to develop into monstrous proportions, not unaccompanied, perhaps, with a certain miserliness, which by the side of a lavishly expanding vanity shows also the endeavor to hoard for the sake of hoarding or of "piling a pile." Moreover, the capitalist, looking out beyond the term of his own life, is stirred with the ambition to leave his name as founder of a family counting among the richest of the land or of the world. These several passions all fermenting in the heart, at once kill in it all love of mercy, as we see in the oft-told story of those captains of English industry who before the factory acts were able to grind out of their poor countrymen and countrywomen, as also out of the children, profits reaching not only to cent per cent., but even to a thousand per cent. The human traffic

began upon the victims at an early age; boys and girls were brought from various quarters to the northern towns, where they were housed in buildings near to the factories, in which they were made to labor long hours, the lash being used upon them to rouse up their flagging energies. Relay after relay the miserable children followed each other at their wretched tasks at an age when they ought to have been at school and at play and in their homes. They slept in rows of beds which one set of occupants filled as another set were turned out of their miserable dormitories to renew their toil. Day and night the workers were kept earning money for their masters. Men and women worked at the factories on terms which nowadays would make them rebel with the utmost bitterness of feeling and gain them the support of the country.

The mines repeated the story of the factories, and in some ways added to its horrors. Women and children worked like draught cattle, creeping on hands and knees in low, narrow passages underground, sometimes in the water, sometimes in exhausting heat. The taskmasters urged on the slaves with many cruelties, for children could be maimed and even killed without a remedy. Meantime, under such unhealthy conditions, disease was rife and was allowed to have its way, for new workers could be found as those previously engaged dropped out of the ranks, slaughtered by the inhuman butchers of men.

All these horrors the capitalists caused because they were greedy for gain and were fevered by the immense success of the new industrialism. Reform did not begin from then; it started from disinterested philanthropists like Lord Shaftesbury, who had a keen sense of the enormities that were being committed in the name of progress. It was, indeed, a vile traffic which the philanthropists of that day had to put down; it made money deserve its name of "filthy lucre," or, as the two princes of the Apostles call it, "disgraceful gain." (I. Peter v., 2; Tit. i., 7; I. Tim. iii., 8.) Truly does it justify the charge that avarice is utterly without pity.

It is no wonder, then, that covetousness has been put among the capital vices. It is not the root of all sin in the same degree as pride has been called the origin of evil; and yet there is a sense in which St. Paul can truly say that "love of money is the root of all that is wrong" (I. Tim. vi., 6-11), inasmuch as there is nothing bad to which it does not lead. It is a sort of false worship, an idolatry. Now, idolatry is called in the Book of Wisdom *omnis mali causa* (xiv., 27). Hence it is no mere accident that ruin has come in such terrible forms from cupidity in money matters. The history of the calamities springs from the very nature of the bad passion⁴ working

⁴ Ruskin says unsparingly: "There is nothing of which English avarice is incapable."

itself out to its proper consummation. From Roman history we have already borrowed illustration of the fact that a great Empire may go to pieces on the rock of avarice. With Rome he joined Greece as teaching the same lesson. Of the two Professor Flint writes thus in his book on Socialism, pp. 32, 33:

"What makes the histories of nations like Greece and Rome of vast political importance to a student of socialism is not so much any socialistic legislation or theories as the examples they have left of cultivated and powerful peoples ruined by their failure to solve the social question. In Greek cities the poor had political rights, and they used them against the rich to obtain equality of wealth, sometimes imposing all the taxes upon them, sometimes confiscating their goods, sometimes condemning them to death or exile, sometimes abolishing debts, sometimes equally dividing property. The rich resisted by all means in their power, by violence and fraud, conspiracy and treason. Each Greek city thus included two hostile peoples, and civil wars were incessant, the object of every civil war being, as Polybius says, to *displace fortunes*. This ruined the Greek cities. Rome suffered and died from the same malady as Greece. Before the close of the republic she had twice experienced social revolution of the most sanguinary nature. She sought a remedy in the Empire, and it, at the expense of the individual, fed and pampered the idle population. This solution secured rest for a time, but naturally ended in exhaustion and ruin."

Rome, as we know, came too near to that "description" of an imperfect state which Sir H. Main has given when he calls it a power "to raise taxes and maintain soldiers." We have much fuller ideas of the duty of the state to use its authority for the positive advancement of the national welfare. *Laisser faire* under a peace kept by the army and the police is not enough for the development of a commonwealth. But whatever be this advancement, in political wisdom, if the rulers are effectually to guide the realm, they must themselves be above corruption, and coming as they do out of the people, when the latter are tainted, how shall they be pure? A healthy condition must be the joint result of incorruptibility among governors and governed. Now in these days of vast speculations, of enormous enterprises in the money-making direction, the dangers are very great and the actual mischiefs very many. Avarice remains to-day pitiless as ever. It crushes the weak without remorse; it gluts itself, no matter who starves or how many perish, in order that its share of the banquet may be superabundant. Honesty is not accounted the best policy, either for states or for citizens, and an excuse for dishonesty is its absolute necessity in a world of commercial and political sharpers, in which no one can afford to keep

strict justice. Thus, in the midst of peace there is war, almost that war of each against all which Hobbes supposes to be the primitive state of nature. At least he was right to call such a state very unlovely. "It is easily judged," he remarked, "how disagreeable a thing to preservation, either of mankind or of each single man, a perpetual war is."⁵ Not only is it disagreeable; it is perilous and in the end fatal to the existence of nations.

There is, then, a practical utility to be got out of the considerations above offered to the attention of readers. Of course, it seems hopeless to address a sermon, as it were, *urbi et orbi*, against the avaricious quest of money or to try seriously to divert into a better channel the energies even of two cities, New York and London. No one voice is greatly powerful for reform; and yet one voice may contribute its inappreciable share to an appreciable totality of utterance, which at least mitigates evils among individuals and turns some hearts to better aspirations than the desire to pile up dollars into a tower of Babel, defying heaven and challenge from God the sentence of confusion. *Confundantur superbi quia injuste iniqua fecerunt.*

It is true that the democratic power of our own day has largely changed the quarter on which the abuse of riches once lay. It is no longer now as it was under *L'Ancien Regime*, when all the higher nobility flocked to Paris and gathered round the court, leaving the provinces deserted, while drawing from them as much money as could be got out of neglected estates. Upon these idlers all sorts of sinecures were conferred by royal favor, and they got all the best paid offices, both lay and clerical. "Tout ce monde," says Taine, "parade, boit et mange copieusement, en cèrémonie: tel est leur principal emploi; et il y s'en acquitta en conscience," as all covetors of wealth were accused in a Parliament of 1764 of being *sans pitié et sans pudeur*, merciless and shameless. These are the characteristics of idolators who worship money; and though their ranks are no longer recruited from an hereditary ring of monopolists, still their baneful influence is great, and they may ruin a democratic state as they ruined an autocratic kingdom. Universally, "Confounded be all worshipers of idols." Psal. xcvi., 7.)

The theory is stated by Blantschli that all past history testifies against the immortality of the State. The occasion and the forms of the fall are different, but the cause of mortality is common to all. This cause is not demoralization nor bad government, nor mixture and degeneracy of race; but it is found in the great law of all organic life, that it is developed by history and by it is consumed. Progressive humanity finds no complete satisfaction in any particular

⁵ De Civ., Cap. 1, n. 13.

state and swallows them all up. If ever there comes into being a world-empire, then we may hope that this state will endure as long as mankind itself.⁶ It is just as likely at once to fall to pieces. The theory rests too much on the uncertainties of an analogy between a political and an animal body. All the causes which really destroy empires are concrete facts, not time or history in the abstract. Among the causes a place is, as a fact, occupied by avarice. It is true that a very poor state might perish without falling into this particular sin; but it has been the sin of great Emperors, which from their magnitude have been exposed to its temptations. They have all loved fatally *La Belle Dame sans Merci*, and have themselves become, like her, hard and pitiless, and when, under her relentlessness, they have perished, they have gone to ruin unpitied because they so obviously deserved to fall.

I saw able kings and princes, too,
Pale warriors, death-pale were they all;
They cried, *La belle Dame sans Merci*
Hath thee in thrall.

I saw their starved lips in the gloam
With horrid warning gaping wide,
And I awoke and found me here
On the cold hills side.

And this is why I sojourn here
Alone and pale by loitering,
Though sedge is withered from the lake
And no birds sing.

It was the title of Pliny's Book that suggested the designation of Natural History for an account of some workings in mankind of the passion called avarice; as to the fitness in itself of such a title, we must make a distinction. The scientific spirit of the eighteenth century led the French philosophers to give a natural history of man, to explain human society as developed by its own intrinsic forces rising from a condition almost bestial, if we forget Rousseau's state of nature, to more and more improved condition till it reached its modern level of progress. Instead of Bossuet's "*Histoire Universelle*," tracing events to a Divine Providence, active especially in a small part of the south called Palestine, there was substituted Voltaire's "*Essai sur les Moeurs*," taking the race at large and describing it as part of a natural whole. The phrase "Natural History of Morals" is without error in the mouth of one who knows how to use it aright. We who still believe in Providence and its peculiar action on one favored portion of the universe, may also take account of the natural course of events so far as they have actually taken place naturally. Our abstract treatises on Ethics or on Religion receive useful additions from the history of concrete facts which have been wholly or in part due to human causes. Avarice is a vice inci-

⁶ The Theory of the State, Book I., Chap. II.

dent to man's nature and would exist were there no supernatural elevation and no fall from it by our first parent. Even in paradise man would be tired and might yield to some form of covetousness so far as we know, though we do not know much about what might have been if Adam had not lapsed from his high estate. At least we are safe in a natural history of a national crime.

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THE RESTORATION OF GREGORIAN CHANT.

IN HIS letter dated the Feast of the Immaculate Conception, 1903, and addressed to the Cardinal Vicar of Rome, His Holiness Pope Pius X. writes: "Now that so much study has been employed by distinguished men in illustrating the liturgy and the art used in the service of public worship, that such consoling and not unfrequently such splendid results have been attained in so many churches throughout the world in the restoration of sacred music, notwithstanding the very serious difficulties that had to be faced, and that have been so happily overcome, now in fine, that the necessity of a complete change in the order of things has come to be universally appreciated, every abuse in this matter becomes intolerable and must be removed." From these words of the Holy Father it is evident that the movement for the propagation of true ecclesiastical music, to which he has deigned to lend his powerful support, had already attained considerable proportions before the advent of the present Pontificate, and that the "Motu Proprio" of November last was, therefore, anything but a *fulminatio de caelis*.

While comparatively little of the "study employed in illustrating the liturgy and the art used in the service of public worship" can be ascribed to America, yet even here the signs of the times did not escape observation altogether. Hence it was that in the autumn of 1902 the writer of this article had the good fortune of being sent by his venerable ordinary on a musical tour through Europe, receiving instructions to visit the various churches most renowned for their music, and particularly to make a study of the various schools of Gregorian chant with a view of adopting the best prevailing methods at the seminary of the diocese. The hope that an account of the experiences of this tour may prove, if not instructive, at least not lacking in interest, must serve as an apology for the present somewhat personal essay.

In the course of this article we shall frequently have occasion to speak of the various theories on Gregorian chant, particularly in reference to its rhythm. In order that in such cases we may be more clearly understood, we deem it well, before proceeding, to make some preliminary remarks on the history of this style of music.

Gregorian chant, as is well known, is the musical art product of the first ten centuries of the Christian era. Compared with modern music it differs in many points, chiefly, however, in this, that its rhythm is not metrical or strict, but free, like the rhythm of prose. Now it is precisely this peculiar rhythm which occasioned the manifold vicissitudes that plain chant has had to undergo. As early as the tenth century a decline in the right understanding of this rhythm began to show itself. This was particularly true in the case of the long melisms of the gradualls, whence the rise of the sequence-form which resolved these long neumes into a chant almost exclusively syllabic. With the more enthusiastic cultivation of polyphony the rhythm of Gregorian suffered more and more, until finally, in the fifteenth century, it had become one of the lost arts. The beautiful melisms, exquisitely wrought and intended for delicate and lightsome execution, were now sung in long and ponderous tones, without any attention to the grouping of the notes—a matter so essential to the proper rendering of Gregorian song. No wonder, then, that a need was at length felt of abbreviating what had become unending, formless exercises in vocalization. In Italy the great Palestrina himself undertook the task of a reform. His effort, it is true, proved abortive, as he never completed the work he began, and even what he did accomplish we can now say with almost absolute certainty never reached the hands of the publisher. The disciples of Palestrina were, however, more successful in the pseudo-reformation, and the result of their labors is what is known as the *Medicean Gradual*.

While the intentions of the reformers of Gregorian in the sixteenth century cannot well be impugned, inasmuch as it was their object to give to the chant a form better accommodated to the prevailing method of execution, yet their work was certainly not a reform in the sense of the Council of Trent, in which case they would have acted on the admonition of Charlemagne to the singers of his time: "Revertimini ad fontes Sancti Gregorii." As it was, the Gregorian reform of the sixteenth century was merely a makeshift, one that was quite inadequate to rescue the chant from the almost universal contempt into which it afterward fell.

About the middle of the last century an unusual amount of interest was displayed in the study and cultivation of Gregorian. The question of rhythm especially received attention, and various divergent theories were advanced. Père Lambillotte believed that he had

found evidences in the manuscripts to show that the rhythm of plain chant was really metrical. Since then this same idea has more or less fascinated such men as Houdard, Lhoumeau, Lutschounigg and the Jesuit Dechevrens. Amongst those who stood for the free rhythm of Gregorian there arose two distinct schools, one of which has gradually become to be known as the school of Ratisbon, the other the school of Solesmes. Historically viewed, these two schools represent respectively the Gregorian of the Renaissance and that of the Middle Ages down as far as the beginning of the eleventh century. While both the school of Ratisbon and that of Solesmes are perfectly agreed on the fundamental principle, "Sing the words with notes as you would speak them without notes," yet their several interpretations of this principle have carried them widely apart. In both schools the tonic accent is considered the most essential element of free rhythm. But what is the nature of this accent? The history of language tells us that originally the tonic or acute accent was exclusively a musical one, designating neither stress nor length, but merely an elevation of the voice. In the Latin language, however, particularly during the third and fourth centuries, this accent brought with it the additional idea of intensity, while long accents appeared only with the Romance languages, of which they were really the cause. Now, while the Solesmes school insists on the accent of Latin as spoken during the ages in which the Gregorian melodies originated, and, therefore, as designating not length but merely stress, the school of Ratisbon, following a practice dating back as far as the fifteenth century, marks each accented syllable with a tailed note, assigning to it a time value approximately one-half greater than that of unaccented syllables. And yet, despite this difference in the apprehension of the nature of the tonic accent, the two schools might readily have made a compromise in selections purely syllabic.

Far greater is the divergence of the two schools as regards the rendering of the pneumatic chant. According to the teaching of Guido of Arezzo, "*In harmonia (melody) sunt soni, quorum unus, duo vel tres aptantur in syllabas, ipsaeque solae vel duplicatae neumam, i. e. partem constituunt cantilenae; sed pars una vel plures distinctionem faciunt, i. e., congruum respirationis locum.*" (Microl. 15.) While this doctrine may not be of absolute necessity in syllabic chant, as the proper declamation of the text is here frequently a sufficient guide; for the right rendering of the more elaborate compositions it is of the utmost importance. Without due attention to the rhythmical articulation of the melody the delicate symmetry which constitutes the chief grace of Gregorian is lost, and particularly the long melisms become both meaningless and difficult of

execution. To have called the attention of the world once more to all this is by no means the least of the services the school of Solesmes has rendered to the traditional chant.

In the school of Ratisbon there has been but little regard for this nice balancing of parts. And indeed it could not well have been otherwise, for the reason that the authors of the curtailed edition of the chant, of which that school has made use almost exclusively, had destroyed, albeit unconsciously, nearly every vestige of this symmetry.

Having thus given a brief sketch of Gregorian in its various phases, we now return to the principal object of this article, which is, as has been indicated before, an account of the writer's personal observations while in the pursuance of musical studies in Europe.

As the interest of the writer was concentrated in a great degree on the work of ecclesiastical seminaries—it being his desire to learn just how much could be done for the advancement of church music in such institutions—his first visit was paid to Oscott College, the diocesan seminary of Birmingham. The music of this institution has of late years attained a considerable degree of renown, and rightly so. Not only is Gregorian taught thoroughly, but also the classics of the Renaissance and the compositions of the ablest modern composers of church music receive a very fair share of well directed attention. Of all this a Benediction service, of which the music was partly Gregorian and partly figured, as well as a short musical programme, given by way of sacred concert, and consisting of selections from the works of Benz, Perosi, Croce, Palestrina and Philipps, were more than sufficient evidence. It was impossible to escape the conclusion that here at least a return to true religious music, in the same sense that His Holiness Pope Pius X. has since prescribed for the entire Catholic world, was most seriously intended, and, furthermore, that the seminary is not the last place where the foundation of such a reform can and ought to be laid.

No less edifying was the music at the Birmingham Cathedral itself. Here, too, everything was in absolute conformity with the musico-liturgical prescriptions of the Church. About the year 1850 the choir of St. Chad's became the recipient of a partial endowment, the fruition of which was to be dependent upon the following conditions: First, that certain parts of the Mass, such as the *Asperges*, the *Proprium Missae*, the *Credo*, *Sanctus* and *Benedictus*, should always be sung in Gregorian; secondly, that all figured music, sung at either High Mass or Vespers, be strictly ecclesiastical in character, and, thirdly, that compositions of this latter kind be such as not to render an accompaniment of either organ or other musical instruments indispensable. It was thus that the sacredness of the

music has been safeguarded in this church for over a half century, a fact which neither clergy nor laity have found reason to regret.

It is a well-known fact that while Catholic churches have, during the last three centuries, gradually turned their backs upon the productions of the Renaissance masters and have substituted therefor, as a rule, compositions such as should never have been tolerated in the house of the Lord, the same cannot be said of many Protestant churches, particularly the cathedrals of England. Here the traditions of the school founded by Tallis and Byrde have been tenaciously adhered to down to the present day. The music of these churches is, therefore, really devout and edifying to a degree that must seem almost incredible to one who has not himself been a witness to the fact. The writer will never forget the profound impression made upon him when in Oxford he was present for the first time at the evening service in Christ Church. The singing of the Psalms was truly enchanting. While the movement in the recitation of the sacred text was light and crisp, the effect was none the less that of a sincere, heartfelt prayer; and the accompaniment of the organ, now calm and subdued, now modestly swelling its tones, gave to the whole an air of religious solemnity such as is seldom to be found except amidst the sweet melodies of the traditional chant as sung by the Benedictine monks. The polyphonic doxology sung at the close of each Psalm seemed verily a foretaste of heaven, where choir vies with choir in giving glory to the Triune God. Even the plain reading of the lessons and prayers was deeply impressive, bearing ample testimony to the unfathomable sublimity of the liturgy of the Catholic Church in every, even in its most simple, part.

What has been said of the music of Christ Church is equally true of the music of numerous other Anglican churches, such as St. Paul's, Westminster Abbey and Chapel Royal, in London; the Cathedral of Ely and King's Chapel, in Cambridge. Nor must we imagine that the effectiveness of the music we have just described is due in any way to the massiveness of the choirs by which it is produced. As a matter of fact, the choir of Westminster, which is a fair example in this respect, consists of only six or eight men and a few more than twice that number of boys. The greatest care, however, is exercised in the selection and training, particularly of the boys' voices; and it is thus that these English cathedral choirs insure that purity and roundness of tone which has deservedly made them the object of almost universal admiration.

The writer had been in London but a very short time when his attention was repeatedly called to the magnificent performances of the choir of St. Philip's Oratory. Many non-Catholics, he was

told, frequented this church simply because of the beautiful music. One visit sufficed to convince him of the correctness of the information he had received. The choir consisted of a goodly number of well-trained singers, and was located, not in the chancel, as were those of the Anglican churches, but on a side gallery, where at least part of them could be conveniently seen from the body of the church. The Mass which was sung was one of wonderful pomp and splendor, and was rendered in a manner that would have done credit to a theatre of the very first rank. The congregation, which filled every seat down to the very door of the church, listened with the utmost attention, while the ministers at the altar sat patiently waiting.

But there is true church music in Catholic churches also in London, such as compares most favorably with that of Westminster Abbey and St. Paul's. The late Archbishop of Westminster, Cardinal Vaughan, anxious to restore in England the Catholic liturgy in its full splendor, some time before his death brought from Downside College the highly gifted and energetic Professor Terry, and appointed him choirmaster of the new Westminster Cathedral. Mr. Terry, who is an authority on the music of Byrde, the English Palestrina, immediately determined to make his choir the exponent of that master's works, hoping thus to excite amongst his Catholic countrymen a noble emulation of the glorious achievements of Catholic Englishmen of other times. That the efforts of Mr. Terry have thus far met with the greatest success is evident from the high renown which the choir of Westminster has already obtained. Even under the unfavorable conditions presented by the Pro-Cathedral, in which services were conducted until the opening of the Cathedral proper, some months ago, the effect of the music was one of calm religious serenity, truly worthy of the house of God.

It was at Westminster that the writer first became acquainted with the traditional Gregorian melodies rendered according to the method of Solesmes. The impression made upon him on that occasion was not, however, what he had anticipated. Having been thoroughly imbued with the principle that in Gregorian chant the accented syllables are practically long and are to be produced with a considerable impulse; and, furthermore, that the diamond-shaped notes, because short, are to be rendered rapidly, it was impossible for him to thoroughly appreciate these unruffled, passionless melodies. These subjective difficulties, however, gradually vanished when further opportunities of hearing the chant were afforded in the monastery of Farnborough, and particularly in the abbey of Appuldurcombe, I. of W., where the Benedictines of Solesmes are now in exile and of which we shall have more to say toward the end of this article.

It is a well-known fact that in several of the countries of continental Europe the work of a reform in church music has been prosecuted with admirable energy, especially during the last three or four decades. In Belgium, where a special school has been established to aid in this reform, the efforts thus far made have been crowned with well-merited success. Aside from Gregorian, which is cultivated assiduously, the music sung in the larger churches is almost exclusively that of the Cecilian school, that is, it is more or less an imitation of the masterpieces of the Renaissance, characterized by a liberal use of more modern harmonies; and the choirs, consisting of men and boys, and not unfrequently of men only, possess all the requisites for a dignified and devout rendering of this music.

At the Cathedral of Tournay the writer observed a little peculiarity in the execution of the Gregorian chant, one that he found again later on at the Cathedral of Malines. While the method used in both these churches was practically that which we have described above as the method of Ratisbon, the actual rendering was far more vigorous than is usually the case amongst those who belong to that school. The impression the chant made here was that of a sermon delivered with power and majesty, rather than that of a calm musical declamation. The vast difference between this method and that of Solesmes was evident from the very first moment; and the contrast became even more striking when opportunities were again afforded of hearing the traditional chant amongst the Benedictines of Louvain and Maredsous. The thought that arose spontaneously was that, if Malines made its watch-word "Sing as though you were preaching," and if Ratisbon proclaimed "Natural Declamation" the ultimate criterion of good chant, then "Sing as you pray" might rightly be given as the motto of Solesmes.

In fact, it is the character of simple, childlike prayer that marked the chant of the Benedictines everywhere. Particularly true, however, was this at Maredsous, Maria Laach, Beuron and Einsiedeln, where the fathers have larger churches, better adapted to choirs of seventy or eighty men. The long pauses at the asterisk in the Psalms, and the extreme precision especially in the responses, Psalms and hymns—things that seemed somewhat mechanical in smaller chapels—here produced a wonderful effect of self-denial and devotion; while the simple, scarcely audible accompaniment of the organ lent to the whole a charm such as must in time conquer even the most hostile.

Excepting the few remarks relative to Gregorian in Westminster, we have thus far spoken of the traditional chant in monasteries only. If thereby we have left the impression that this chant, which is now

to become once more the property of the Catholic world, was confined, even two years ago, to such institutions only, we must, before proceeding, correct this error. As a matter of fact, the theory and practice of the traditional melodies has been part of the course of the Fribourg University for some time, instructions in that branch being given by the now well-known Dr. P. Wagner. Short and more popular courses have also been given at various times by the monks at Beuron; while a great number of students of the chant, coming from all parts of the world, have profited by the kindness of the fathers of Solesmes. As to practical results, the boys' choir of Mr. Booth has long since made itself famous by its public illustrations of the chant, given in Liverpool and elsewhere. Even in Germany, where the spirit of opposition against Solesmes chant had long prevailed, at least the method of rendition gradually made considerable conquests.

Whenever of late years the question of reform in matters pertaining to church music has been raised, those who were unwilling to hear of a change have invariably appealed to the example of Italy, and especially to that of Rome. While it is true that the abuses have been as great there as in other parts of the world, it is also true that this fact was duly recognized by ecclesiastical authorities, and that at least in some instances the means were used to radically eliminate such abuses. The work done in this respect by the present Pope when still Patriarch of Venice is now too well known to require comment. At Loretto, too, and at the shrine of St. Anthony of Padua, the musical part of the services has for many years past been conducted with all requisite decorum, the care of the music in these churches having been intrusted to men specially trained at the school for church music in Ratisbon. In Rome the choir of the Anima, under the direction of Dr. Mueller, has been setting a good example for several decades, one that has not been altogether unproductive of good fruits, at least in some of the larger churches of the Eternal City.

The principal part, however, of the reform in Rome as well as elsewhere in Italy was, during all this time, going on in the ecclesiastical seminaries. It was felt that here the foundations of all permanent reform in this matter must be laid by imbuing the clergy of the future with a proper realization of what the music of the Church can and ought to be. Of the institutions of this kind in Rome the German College has for many years enjoyed the highest reputation for the truly ecclesiastical character of its music, but particularly for its exemplary execution of the Gregorian chant. The extraordinary zeal manifested by the students of many other Italian seminaries during the last two or three years is due in a

great measure to the introduction of the traditional melodies; and it can safely be said that this display of enthusiasm on the part of the seminarians contributed in no small degree to give confidence to Pope Pius X. in the reform he has undertaken with so much energy. Of the rapidity with which the traditional melodies were spreading amongst the institutions of which we are speaking at a time when the Ratisbon edition of the chant still retained its official character, an idea may be formed from the fact that at the close of the year 1902 no less than seven of the more important Roman colleges, such as the Collegio Capranico and the Seminario Vaticano, were actually making use of the Solesmes edition to the exclusion of all others.

"It is gratifying for us," says His Holiness in the "Motu Proprio" on church music, "to be able to acknowledge with real satisfaction the large amount of good that has been accomplished in this respect (the removal of abuses affecting sacred music) during the last decade in this our beloved city of Rome, and in many churches in our country, but in a more especial way among some nations in which illustrious men, full of zeal for the worship of God, have, with the approval of the Holy See and under the direction of their Bishops, united in flourishing societies and restored sacred music to the fullest honor in all their churches and chapels." Of the nations to which His Holiness here refers as the chief source of consolation to himself there can be no doubt that Germany is entitled to the very first place. The amount of work accomplished in the restoration of sacred song by the German Cecilian societies, to which the "Motu Proprio," without naming them, refers in a special way, can scarcely be overestimated. When, forty years ago, Dr. Witt, the founder of these societies, first began his campaign against the scandalous performances then in vogue, there were perhaps in all Germany not three churches whose music might have served as a model to the rest. To-day, on the contrary, it would not be a difficult task to give a long list of dioceses in that country in which a complete transformation has taken place, from the cathedral down to the last village church. Another evidence of the remarkable activity displayed in the circle of the German Cecilian societies is the fact that, while at the beginning of the reform movement there were but very few compositions deserving of recommendation, the catalogue of the "Allgemeiner Deutscher Caecilienverein" at present contains over three thousand such compositions, adapted to the requirements of every conceivable occasion, and accommodated to the ability of choirs of every degree of perfection.

Among the chief factors in the renovation of ecclesiastical music in Germany as well as in many other countries of both Europe and

America, the "Kirchenmusikschule" of Ratisbon occupies a most prominent place. This school, which was founded in 1874 by Dr. F. X. Haberl, a member of the Papal commission for the revision of the hitherto official chant, and by the Canons Dr. G. Jakob (July, 1903) and Michael Haller, has been the direct outcome of the needs of the times in the early days of the Cecilian movement. Some years before the agitation begun by Witt against the so-called church music of the eighteenth century, Louis I. of Bavaria, that ardent promoter of the fine arts, had brought about in the Cathedral of Ratisbon a revival of the classic polyphony of the Renaissance. Before long Ratisbon had become the Mecca of all church musicians, especially of those belonging to the Cecilian societies, and students flocked thither from all parts to hear the "Sistine Choir of Germany" and to profit by the hints they might receive from those who had been instrumental in accomplishing the work so nobly done. It was then that Dr. Haberl, at that time director of the Cathedral choir, and his two illustrious colleagues, in consideration of the inconvenience both to themselves and to those who came to consult them, of private and irregular instructions, determined to give for six months in each year a systematic course in all those matters which pertain in an especial manner to the directors of church choirs. From this school, which has now been conducted for over thirty years with an admirable spirit of self-denial, as the writer can attest from a personal experience of fully six months, and unremitting zeal for the decorum for the house of God, there have gone forth some of the ablest and most active laborers in the field of modern church music, such as have contributed in no small degree to determine the character of the "Motu Proprio" of Pope Pius X., particularly in its bearing on music of the figured style.

If we were to inquire for the secret of the astounding progress made in a few decades by the reform of church music under the auspices of the allied German Cecilian societies, we should find it to be primarily the principle adopted by them that in all matters pertaining to the sacred liturgy the prescriptions of the Church must be the first and last criterion of right and wrong. Of the fidelity of the Cecilians to this, their fundamental principle, a remarkable instance is afforded us at this very moment, when in dutiful submission to the Holy See they are about to accept formally a style of Gregorian chant of which they have been for many years the most powerful opponents.

Thus far we have spoken in a general way only of the achievements of the German Cecilian societies. Though an account of their works in detail as illustrated especially in the more important cathedral choirs would perhaps be interesting, yet we must refrain

from entering upon this task lest we be carried beyond the limits we have set for this article. In conclusion, however, of our remarks on Germany we would add that besides the cathedral choir of Ratisbon, which still maintains its superiority over all the rest, several other choirs of that city, and also the cathedral choirs of Muenster, Cologne, St. Gall and Brixen (the last two, though not in Germany, are affiliated with the "Allgemeiner Deutscher Caecilienverein") have attained such a degree of perfection as to compare, we believe, not unfavorably with the very best church choirs of England.

Elsewhere in this article, referring to the Abbey of Solesmes, temporarily transferred to Appuldurcombe, I. of W., we promised to return to this, the home of the Solesmes chant. We propose now, before bringing our article to a close, to keep this promise. Our object in reverting to this subject is to give a short sketch of the history of the Solesmes school, which, we believe, will be the more welcome, as it is this school that has recently been intrusted with the preparation of the prospective official edition of the traditional chant.

When during the first half of the last century Dom Prosper Guéranger had successfully restored in France the Benedictine order, suppressed by the Revolution, one of the problems that presented itself to him for solution was that of securing for the use of the monks a suitable edition of the liturgical chant. Discontented with the defective character of the books then commonly in use, he resolved to have recourse to the oldest, that is, the pneumatic manuscripts, in order to reproduce from them the original reading of the melodies of St. Gregory. To carry out this plan he deputed Dom Jausions and Dom Pothier, the latter at that time a novice of the order, to make a thorough study of the available Gregorian codices, laying down for their guidance the principle that whenever several manuscripts owing their origin to different countries and epochs were found to agree on a certain reading, this reading might safely be considered the authentic Gregorian melody. After twelve years of diligent labor on the part of these two men the *Liber Gradualis* was at last ready for the press. But fully twelve years more expired before it was placed in the hands of the publisher (1883), all this time having been spent by Dom Pothier, whom death had deprived of his collaborateur, in perfecting this work by further study and collating of manuscripts and in preparing that epoch-making book, "Les Mélodies Grégoriennes," which was to serve as an introduction to the new Gradual.

In spite of the great amount of care spent upon the preparation of the *Liber Gradualis*, the restoration of the chant of St. Gregory in

its primitive purity was not yet a *fait accompli*, as became evident when the new books were introduced into the monastery choir. On the one hand, the melodies themselves were still defective in many respects, owing to the insufficiency of the manuscripts placed at the disposal of Solesmes; on the other hand, the divisions of the melodies, made in some instances without sufficient regard to the codices, also left room for considerable emendation. To complete the work thus happily begun was the part reserved to the highly gifted and resolute Dom Mocquereau. Gathering around him a body of ten or fifteen talented young monks, he began by a publication in the *Paléographie Musicale* of manuscripts brought together from all parts of the world, to defend the Solesmes books against the attacks coming from the Ratisbon quarter, and to prove the substantial agreement of the manuscripts among themselves. This done, he next turned his attention to the eradication of the defects that still marred the work of his predecessors—a duty the more imperative at this moment, as many Bishops began to adopt the chant of Solesmes, and further delay would have revealed its defects to the uninitiated critics whose observation they had hitherto escaped. The publication of the *Paléographie Musicale* had occasioned a gigantic growth in the library of Solesmes, the photographic and manuscript reproductions of Gregorian codices being now actually numbered by the thousands. In order to make of this vast amount of material an instrument with which to work conveniently and securely, the readings of all these documents were arranged on synoptic tables in such a way that the history of any given phrase of the chant might be traced at a glance, and in case of variations the original reading might be determined with almost absolute certainty. That a proceeding such as this entailed an enormous amount of expense and persevering labor can readily be imagined; but it was the only scientific, the only completely satisfactory way of restoring the chant, which the Church had inherited from her saints, to the purity with which it first came forth from the “fountains of St. Gregory.”

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THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL EXCAVATIONS AT HISSARLIK.

AS LONG as civilization lasts and as long as there continues to exist a studious curiosity to know ourselves better, the wide and reticent ages wherein flourished the remoter races of our kind will always be a fascinating object of historical research. An analysis of the various motives that urge the investigator to try to pierce the gloom which shuts off our vision from so much of antiquity would be surprisingly interesting. Behind the murky hills of time that intervene he may possibly expect to catch some glimmering rays of the cloud-covered civilization of those vanished peoples. He may wish to compare their Sun Knowledge with his own and ours. But the line of communication that connects us with the bygone ages is neither easy to establish nor easy to keep open. The facts transmitted are often unintelligible and effectless because they utter themselves in language which we cannot comprehend. Historical investigation will not fall into disrepute so long as men are anxious to know whence they came to where they are, even if it were more evident than it even now is that the search will always be laborious and the gleanings meagre.

The direct and imposing manner in which old Hellenic life has entered into so many branches of modern progress and modern thought has drawn a good portion of antiquarian investigators to devote their energies exclusively to the study of ancient Hellenism and its effects on the world. They wish to learn the circumstances under which its undying vitality was generated and fostered. It is true that by most of such men an ideal of Hellenism moulded by their own ennobled fancy is called into existence, an imaginary kosmos of artistic and intellectual perfection which never in the history of the ancient world possessed actual reality. This sublimated hyper-appreciation of Hellenism has in the main been not unbeneficial. It has exalted and purified many of our desires by continually luring us to higher spheres of action in emulation of the true or supposed success of our great predecessors. But a more correct and scientific appreciation of antiquity may after all be still more inspiring and still more instructive than any incoherent worship of it may be. What we now long for is the truth, no matter what this truth reveal to us.

Ever since the Renaissance of Antiquity in Europe lovers of art and history have been digging up classic sites and rummaging through stony ruins in quest of objects of art and records of the past. But these men were simply amateurs and collectors. They were the pioneers of a new species of scientists and had all the imper-

fections that necessarily affect such beginners. They did great service to mankind, however, for their zeal filled the museums of Italy and the rest of Europe with admirable works of art and mementos of Greece and Rome.

After the restoration of freedom to modern Greece, in 1828, this country naturally became the choicest field for excavators, and signal has been their success. Athens and its museums, Delphi, Olympia and so many other places are witness to this. But of all those who set themselves to the task of unearthing buried Greece the two whom this present article makes lengthier mention of are Schliemann and Dörpfeld. The former is to be praised for his untiring enthusiasm; the latter for his trained accuracy. Schliemann was an adventurous German, whose life-dream from his very childhood was to visit and investigate the places rendered famous by the songs of Homer. After acquiring a sufficient amount of wealth as a merchant, he took up his residence in Hellenic lands, and began to reap the realization of his longings. With fullest faith as to the results that would be revealed he pushed his spade into the soil of Ithaka and into the débris of Mykenæ and Tiryns and the supposed site of Troy. These places he preferred because they were nearest related to the Homeric story. The work of excavating had not, even when this scholar began, yet been raised to the accuracy and dignity of a scientific procedure, and accordingly his enthusiasm was often warmer than his observations were exact. Nevertheless he made a noble beginning; and others have industriously brought method into the work which he so heartily initiated.

In the year 1868 Schliemann first set foot on the soil of the Troad, in the northwestern corner of Asia Minor. It was evident that if Homer's city of Priam ever existed, it was within this region called the Troad. At that time many authoritative historians preferred to assert that such a city had never been in existence; that Priam's Troy and the ten-years' siege which it sustained were mere poetical fictions of the early troubadours of Greece. In this opinion, however, they were in disagreement with the testimony of the classic authors, none of whom ever expressed any such doubts about the reality of Troy. Schliemann belonged to the coterie of those who agreed with the classic historians and geographers, and believed that there had been a real Troy. For him the only question that challenged an answer was "where are the ruins of that famous city; where was the Pergamos of Priam situated?"

Within this Troad country, and not far from the Skamandros river, are three lone hills, separated from each other by a considerable distance, each of which has been supposed to correspond to what the site of Troy seems to have been. Since in those ages cities in

this part of the world were always on hilltops, the search is rendered easier, because all places in the level plain are excluded in advance. These three hills are now known by their Turkish names of Bunarbashi, Chiblak and Hissarlik. The knoll of Bunarbashi had attracted the notice of the traveler Lechevalier towards the end of the eighteenth century; he persuaded himself that here must Troy have been. In the year 1864 an Austrian scholar, Von Hahn, suffered the same conviction, made excavations and published a book¹ announcing and explaining his apparent success. Under the spell of Von Hahn's work Schliemann at first selected Bunarbashi as probably the site looked for. But a brief investigation with picks and shovels put an end to the identification of Bunarbashi and Troy.

After being disappointed at Bunarbashi he turned to Hissarlik. The thorough historian, Grote, and a few other modern scholars had already expressed their views in favor of this site. In 1870 the excavations were begun. And in the summer of 1873 Schliemann thought that he had completed his task, and had identified the location of Priam's realm. He had actually found a pre-historic city. And since high above the remains of this pre-historic settlement inscriptions were found which proved that from at least the fourth century before Christ there was on the top of the hill a Greek town called Ilioupolis, he concluded that the pre-historic town must have been Priam's Troy. He joyfully published to the world the results of his excavations in a book called "*Trojanische Altertümer*."

As time went on Schliemann, who in the meantime had gained valuable anascptic experience by his wonderful discoveries at Mykenae, began like many others to have doubts regarding the accuracy of his first conclusions regarding Hissarlik. In 1878 he returned to the Troad and inaugurated new researches. Between this time and the year of his death he continually busied himself with Troy, and often made new excavations. In 1881 a new book appeared with valuable contributions by Burnouf, a former director of the French archæological school at Athens, and Virchow, the celebrated Berlin professor.² Another book³ was published in 1883, and a fourth publication, a brochure, appeared in 1890.⁴

From these four publications it can be seen that Schliemann had made great discoveries at Hissarlik; but the work had not been systematically commenced, and therefore much confusion followed. It is not necessary here to recount his unavoidable mistakes, for

¹ "*Die Ausgrabungen der homerischen Pergamos*." Von J. G. von Hahn. Leipzig, 1864.

² "*Ilios*."

³ "*Troja*."

⁴ "*Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in Troja*" im Jahre, 1890.

they have since been corrected by his friend and collaborateur and able successor, Wilhelm Dörpfeld. Heinrich Schliemann died in December of 1890.

The various publications of Schliemann had aroused the interest of the philhistoric world. But of the problems that had been raised in regard to the different ruins found on Hissarlik, the more weighty ones still remained unsolved. Investigations were therefore resumed in 1893. The direction of the excavations was entrusted to the already experienced Dörpfeld. Under the new direction surprising facts rapidly began to shape themselves out of the chaotic masses of earth and stones. It was ascertained that the successive settlements were at least nine in number. It was discovered that the excavations at Hissarlik revealed to us a picture not only of Homer's city of Priam, but of other interesting settlements, some of which were earlier than Priam's city and others were later. Accordingly the excavations were no longer noteworthy simply as explanatory of life as Homer described it, but because they open out a channel through the life of past ages reaching to a length of more than three thousand years. The earliest settlement whose remains still are strewn on the rock of Hissarlik must have been founded as early as the beginning of the third millenium before Christ; and the latest civic community that erected its houses and temples on the top of the hill existed there, as the ruins show, until about five hundred years after the beginning of our era. The city of Priam seems, indeed, to have been finally identified. But it must now divide its importance with that of the earlier settlements, because the meagreness of our knowledge of these remoter periods renders important every slightest fact concerning them. Definite accounts of these important results appeared in two books.⁵ From the accounts contained in the second of these this present article receives its existence.

Of these nine clearly distinct settlements each, except the first, was built above the débris formed by the destruction of the preceding one. Each settlement is peculiarly indicated by a thick and easily distinguishable stratum made by the accumulated débris. Thus with each succeeding community of inhabitants did the niveau of the hill steadily grow higher. The first settlement was on the native rock. All the others were on various higher levels, on previously formed débris.

Before indicating the stratum which is supposed to contain the

⁵ "Troja." Von Wilhelm Dörpfeld, 1893, and "Troja und Ilion." Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen in den vorhistorischen und historischen Schichten von Ilion, 1870-1894. Von Wilhelm Dörpfeld, unter mitwirkung von Alfred Brückner, Hans von Fritze, Alfred Götze, Hubert Schmidt, Wilhelm Wilberg, Hermann Winnefeld. Athen: Beck u. Barth, 1892. Two vols.

Homeric city of the Trojans, a short description of some of the earlier successive settlements is not out of place.

The oldest habitations that graced this hill were huts of stone, built for the sake of protection and safety on the top of the then bare rock, which rises to a height of about seventy-five feet above the surrounding level plain. The area of the sufficiently level summit was considerably less than 20,000 cubic metres. Close to the edge of the plateau on which their hovels stood, they built a defensive wall round about. Outside of this enclosure there probably were no houses. This primitive settlement was entirely confined to the height. The inhabitants were masters of the fertile fields and pasture lands in which the hill stood, and from this plain they chiefly drew their sustenance. Their houses, as well as their enclosing wall, were built of roughly broken stone put together with clay mortar.

Of all the nine settlements this primitive one has been the least thoroughly examined. This is because much of it cannot be reached by the picks of the excavators without first demolishing the ruins of later settlements above it. Nevertheless enough has been unearthed to allow of an examination into the mode of life of these primeval men. They came and erected their habitations here during the centuries which are known to anthropologists as the neolithic period. The neolithic period is the second half of the obscure "Age of Stone," when men had not yet become familiar with the use of the metals, and used to fashion most of their cutting implements out of stone. It is impossible from the limited amount of utensils and implements that have been found to determine whether these men had already begun to make use of copper as well as of stone for cutting instruments, and had thus progressed into a higher period of civilization distinguished by the name of the "Copper Age." No copper implements have been found. Their axes and hammers and wedges and other tools of this kind are all of hard varieties of native stone. Likewise their pottery is very crude, and for the early ages of mankind earthenware is a reliable indication of the contemporary grade of culture. They had not yet discovered the potter's wheel. Their cups and dishes and basins and vases were fashioned by hand, and show all the irregularities of articles made in that way. These earthenware utensils were burned and hardened not in potters' kilns, but in open fires. The burning is therefore irregular and uneven. These first dwellers on Hissarlik used to nourish themselves on the meat and milk of their flocks, on the grain that their fields produced, on the mollusks that they gathered along the strand, and on the fish which the neighboring sea furnished in abundance. We cannot give exact dates to the time of

their coming and the time of their disappearance. We must be satisfied with saying that they were "neolithic men." But for the sake of grasping their epoch more tangibly we may suppose that they flourished from about 3000 to 2500 before Christ.

The second set of inhabitants who came and took up their abode on Hissarlik built a mighty citadel thereon. So imposing are the ruins and so extensive that Schliemann in his untrained haste mistook this for the city of Priam. This it could not possibly be, however, for it was laid desolate long centuries before Priam's day had come. The niveau of this second settlement lies about fifteen feet higher than the rock surface on which the first inhabitants had built. Five full metres of débris therefore did the primitive dwellers leave behind them after they disappeared from Hissarlik. This second settlement, after an existence of several centuries, came to an end about 2,000 years before Christ. It perished in a great conflagration. The "burnt city," as Schliemann used to call it, was surrounded by a wall, the lower part of which was built of stone and the upper part of sun-dried bricks. The stone portion had a height of from three to twenty-five feet, according to the irregularities of the surface along which it was built. The upper portion, that which was made with sun-dried bricks, was considerably higher than three metres. The entire height of the wall therefore varied from about thirteen to thirty-five feet. The houses were of quarried stone, were well built, but small.

The civilization which flourished in this "burnt city" was that of the "Bronze" period. Wherever the various degrees of civilization are found uninterruptedly succeeding each other, the neolithic period is supposed to be followed not by the bronze but by the copper period. Men learn to use copper before they learn how to manufacture bronze. At Hissarlik, however, no trace of a copper period are recognizable. The primitive men of the first settlement may have perished or departed before they had begun the use of the metals, and the inhabitants of the "burnt city" came to Hissarlik after they had already discovered not only how to use copper, but how to manufacture bronze. The use of copper and bronze, however, did not put an end to all use of stone for the manufacture of cutting implements. Stone axes and hammers and celts are found here along with similar implements in bronze. The potter's wheel was already known, or at least during this period was discovered and employed.

After some great conflagration had wiped this town out of existence, three new small settlements succeeded each other on top of the ashes and ruins of the "burnt city." These were miserable and insignificant communities, compared with the mighty citadel of the

"burnt city" which had preceded them and the splendid "Mykenæic" town which was to be their successor. But nevertheless interesting objects of lead and bronze and electrum and silver and purest gold,⁶ earrings and bracelets and golden goblets have been dug up in strata of earth which possibly represent these settlements. Care had not been taken at the beginning of the excavations to distinguish these strata from each other and from what was above and below. The fifth settlement disappeared about fifteen hundred years before Christ.

The ashes, heaps of stones, broken bricks, fragments of pottery, all kinds of offal and accumulated dirt and dust had raised the surface of the hill to about fifty feet higher than the original top, when there came a sixth set of inhabitants and constructed a new citadel, a new town. By the investigations which Dörpfeld made here in the year 1893, this citadel was discovered to have been built and inhabited in the age which is called "Mykenæic," an age which by approximative calculations is fixed within the years of 1500 to 1000 before Christ. The name of this age is taken from the Peloponnesian town of Mykenæ, which during these centuries was at the height of its glory. Indeed there are many indications which go to show that the lords of this sixth town were sufficiently well acquainted with the other "Mykenæic" towns of the Ægean Sea, and cultivated commercial intercourse with the merchants of the Peloponnesian Tiryns and Mykenæ, and with the Kretan town of Knossos. Two distinct kinds of earthenware articles were in common use in this sixth city. One variety was of native manufacture; we may call it "Troïc." The other was imported, and is of the style classed as "Mykenæic." The quantity of Mykenæic wares that were brought in from foreign manufacturies was considerable. The débris of this sixth or Troïc town is rich with potsherds thereof. These imported wares were so popular that the native manufacturers who produced Troïc wares found themselves obliged to imitate the shapes and varieties of the foreign goods. All of this shows that in those days intercommunication by sea was easy and frequent among the towns on the various shores of the Ægean. These fragments of pottery are highly prized by the antiquarians. It is by them more than by any other finds that this Troïc city had been approximately dated.

A high wall, originally of sun-dried bricks but later rebuilt with hewn stone, surrounded the Mykenæic city. Two-thirds of this stone wall with its solid towers are still quite well preserved to a considerable height. But the northwest portion has been so completely destroyed that not even the foundation stones were left. The

⁶ Twenty-three carats fine.

geographer Strabon⁷ records an assertion that about 550 years before Christ the walls of the town Sigeion were erected with stone taken from ancient Troy, which then was uninhabited; and that likewise the town of Achilleion was built with stone of the same provenance. Possibly, therefore, it was under these circumstances that the northwest portion of this wall was carried away; for as has already been stated, this sixth city has been identified as ancient Troy. Three magnificent entrance gates are to be seen in the part of the wall which is yet preserved. Probably a fourth one was in the wall which has disappeared. Of the three which are preserved, one looks towards the east, another to the south and the third one to the west. The missing one would have faced the north.

This wall did not enclose an extensive area. About 20,000 square metres was then the extent of the artificial surface of the hill. Immediately inside the wall a wide street encircled the entire town. Above this street the buildings stood on concentric terraces three or four in number, each terrace being higher than the one outside it. Narrower streets radiated from the centre of the town down to the gates and the ring-street near the walls. Probably the most important edifices were in the middle of the town, on the highest terrace. But no traces whatsoever of them have remained, because when in Roman imperial times the Greek city which then existed here was enriched by new buildings, the top of the hill was cut off and the upmost terrace was entirely removed. Thus were destroyed whatever foundations of Priam's Troy may have then existed on that most conspicuous site of the town.

From such foundations as have been preserved it can be seen that the dwelling houses consisted for the most part each of one spacious room, built of stone. Each house stands separate. There are no party walls. Narrow gangways separated house from house. In many of the houses strong earthenware vessels, as large as the most capacious barrels, stood buried in the clay floor of the houses, and served as storing places for grain and other articles of food. There were also special rooms with groups of such buried vessels. These rooms must have been magazines.

Not even in this sixth settlement was iron used as a material for the making of cutting instruments. The "Iron Age" had not yet begun. Bronze and copper were still the commonest metallic substances. Double-edged axes, celts, sickles, lance heads, needles, razors and knives of bronze have been dug up. Likewise the more primitive custom of making many articles out of stone and bone had not been abandoned. With these ancient peoples as with us the introduction of a more perfect material did not necessarily ex-

⁷ XIII., 599.

clude the continued use of previously known and more imperfect kinds.

About one thousand years before Christ Mykenæic civilization began to die out in all of the places of the Ægean where it had so long been flourishing. What the causes were that brought down this catastrophe upon these powerful communities we do not know. Like the other Mykenæic cities, so also did Troy cease to exist about this time. Indeed it was one of the first of these cities to disappear. Possibly the decay of many of the other Mykenæic cities was gradual and came somewhat later; but the downfall of Troy was sudden. The condition of the ruins prove that the city did not decay by being abandoned, but that it was destroyed by a foe. Most of it was laid waste by a fierce and purposed conflagration. Portions of the citadel wall, of the gates and of the houses are torn down in such a way as to show that the work of destruction was not accidental but intentional—the acts of an enemy who had captured the town.

This sixth city is Homer's city of Priam. The results of the excavations correspond almost minutely with what a study of the Iliad compels us to think that Troy must have been. The sixth city is proven to have been contemporary with Mykenæ, where ruled the powerful Agamemnon, who led the Achæans in the vengeful war against Priam. It is situated on the spot where ancient tradition believed Troy once to have been. It perished by being captured and pillaged and burned, as the great Epic narrates to have happened to Priam's city. One is even inclined to think that perhaps the bards who composed the older songs of the Iliad were well acquainted with this sixth city or at least with its ruins, so true to it and its surroundings are their descriptions of Priam's city, the hill, the city walls, the towers, the gates, the plain of the Skamandros and the sea coast. It is true that there are some difficulties against accepting this intimate acquaintance of the poets with this Mykenæic citadel. For instance, the city, as now excavated, was not large enough to contain the large army of defenders which the later parts of the Iliad assign to Troy. But in matter of numbers poets may be allowed to have made use of their usual license; and with Dörpfeld we might trim Homer's figures from 50,000 down to 5,000. An easier and lazier way, however, of explaining both the coincidences and the incongruities is to believe that Homer's descriptions are very general and would in good part suit most any important town of the Mykenæic age.

We now take leave of the sixth city, which was Priam's, and pass on to the later settlements. After the destruction of Troy the hill remained desolate for a time, and then was repopled by inhabitants

who still followed the lines of waning Mykenæic civilization. But about 700 years before Christ an entirely different set of invaders came and occupied the hilltop, putting an end to all Mykenæic life. The nature of the implements and pottery which these new-comers made for themselves leads us to the supposition that they had learned their arts in a European region, along the shores of the Danube. These Europeans did not build any lasting dwellings here. In part they occupied the stone huts of the Mykenæic inhabitants whom they may have driven out, and in part they built for themselves shelters of osiers and mud, as they had done when living near the Danube. Instruments and utensils similar to those of these European squatters on Hissarlik are found in Hungary near the Danube, and are commonly attributed to post-neolithic times. They are peculiarly made earthenware vases, stone hammers, axes, celts, etc.

Who these Europeans were would be hard to imagine, if Strabon did not mention "Treri" as having made settlement in the Troad round Abydos, and "Kimmerii" as also having come into these same regions. Now these invasions of Treri and Kimmerii that Strabon refers to could well have taken place seven or eight centuries before Christ and would well correspond with the epoch of the arrival of the Europeans at Hissarlik. The Treri were a people who dwelt south of the Danube, in the country now called Bulgaria. The Kimerii inhabited the country north of the Danube, between that river and the shores of the Don. So the probability is that the strangers who ousted the settlers of the seventh town were either Kimmerii or Treri, or both united.

Concerning the men who dwelt in the several preceding settlements, we know very little about their nationality and equally little about the languages which they spoke. But of those who came and built the eighth town there is no room for the smallest doubt. They were of the Hellenic race and spoke the Hellenic tongue. With the departure of the European squatters begins the clearly historical career of this place. The Hellenic town was usually called not "Troy," but "Ilion." But this historically well authenticated town of Ilion never was of active importance in the world. It possessed no special fame save what it owned by being descended from the storied Troy of Priam. Hellenic Ilion was but a small town, but its mysterious traditions made it always reverend. Xerxes when on his way to invade Greece stopped there to sacrifice a thousand steers to Iliac Athena, the tutelary goddess of the Hellenic inhabitants. Alexander on his expedition of conquest against Persia interrupted his march and turned from his course to perform sacred rites at the tomb of Homer's hero, Achilles.

When the Romans became masters of this part of the world they showed many special favors to the Ilians. The Romans were proud of the myths that connected the history of Latium and of Rome with Æneas and the city of Troy. Under Roman tutelage Ilium was enlarged, beautified and in part rebuilt. This Romaic city formed the débris of the ninth stratum on Hissarlik. The Romaic town was larger than any of those that had preceded it. The ancient hill was made to serve merely as a citadel. Round about the foot of this citadel a new town was built. This lower and spacious town was protected by a new wall. So much did the Romans respect Ilium that Cæsar thought of removing the seat of empire thither from Rome. Augustus rebuilt on a more magnificent scale the splendid temple of Iliac Athene. Romaic Ilium continued to be inhabited until perhaps about five hundred years after Christ. Then under Byzantine rule it dwindled away. Under Turkish domination the hill of Hissarlik, which for thirty-five centuries had been the abode of various successive tribes of men, and had been honored by the immortal songs of the Homeric troubadours, was merely a wind-swept stony field.

DANIEL QUINN.

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A QUEEN OF GERMAN POETS.

THE writer for whom the title of this paper claims so elevated a rank is little known in English-speaking lands. Seven years ago the centenary of her birth was celebrated in Germany, and her statue was then erected in her native place; but the occasion does not seem to have elicited an article in a single English-written magazine. Four or five poems translated by Captain Medwin, the friend of Byron and Shelley; an imitation of her "Pastor's Week," by Mr. Maurice F. Egan; an article by Miss A. M. Clarke, in a *Month* of 1886; finally, a translation of her chief prose work, "The Jews' Beech," by Mr. Herman Denroche in the *New Ireland Review* of autumn, 1899—that is apparently a complete record of the attention paid within the English literary empire to Annette Elizabeth, Freiin von Droste-Hülshoff, styled at the head of this essay "Queen of German Poets."

More surprising still is the fact that she is not very well known to her German fellow-countrymen themselves. One may meet with fairly educated Germans who have barely heard her name.

Yet, while Annette von Droste is but sparsely talked of outside her immediate Westphalian fatherland, there is at the same time scarcely any difference of opinion among competent literary critics as to the very high place to which she is entitled among German authors in general, and as to her preëminence among writers of her own sex in particular. Thus (not to multiply quotations) Vilmar says: "She in many respects surpasses most recent poets, and is the first German poetess with a true vocation;" Robert Koenig, "She completely excels all the poetesses of the century in depth and originality." And Paul Heyse concludes a series of sonnets to her memory with the words:

So warst du Deutschland's erste Dichterin.
Thou wast our country's foremost poetess.

For this anomalous difference between popular and professional estimation one or two explanations may be suggested. In the first place, it may be remembered that the number of German poets, great and small, is so enormous that it is really difficult for an educated native to have any distinct notions concerning more than quite a small proportion of them. "The broad top of the German Parnassus" is an old theme of jesting; and the casual gazers from the Boëtian plains below may easily be pardoned if they pay no attention to one or other really distinguished individual among the hill-top company.

But why, it will be asked, has Annette von Droste been peculiarly unfortunate? There are reasons—not all bad reasons. She is frequently obscure; she is seldom effusive; she is occasionally hard. No poet—above all, no woman poet—was ever so free from gush, exaggeration, rhetoric and verbosity. She was superior to all these popular faults; hated them with a hatred derived at once from aristocratic refinement, from a highly analytic turn of mind and from Westphalian straightforwardness. Her hatred carried her too far. In some of her narrative pieces she has pruned out details of fact till what remains is a riddle, the solution of which must be sought in an editor's often not much clearer note. In her lyric, satiric or reflective effusions (if "effusions" they may be called) she is so unwilling to dilate an emotion or expand a thought, so afraid of the weakness of superfluity and the sickliness of sentimentalism that many of these poems, like some of Browning's, though capable of fascinating forever after a third or fourth reading, are too likely to repel once for all at a first. Her syntax, like Browning's, sometimes becomes harsh and obscure through her impatience of mere help-words, and the parodist of "The Ring and the Book," who wrote:

We love to dock the smaller parts of speech,
As we curtail the already curtailed cur,

need not have forged any more telling epigram against Annette von Droste-Hülshoff.

It was also unfortunate that she failed to concentrate her powers on any single kind of work. During a life of fifty years, broken and overclouded by continual and painful illnesses, this gifted woman continued to hesitate as to her true literary vocation. In addition to almost every conceivable class of poetic writing she also tried descriptive prose, the drama and the novel. She thus missed the advantage, so important in all careers, of being known for some definite excellence. Nor, again, had she the good fortune to produce two or three happy summaries of her poetic powers, such as are found representing Campbell or Shelley in every book of extracts. No doubt some of her shorter pieces may be found in the anthologies, but then they only imperfectly represent her greatness.

If I begin my sketch of Annette's life and writings by dwelling at some length upon the surroundings of her early days, it is because these strongly conditioned her entire destiny and work. Never married, the almost constant companion of a mother who survived her, seldom far from brother and sister or from the scenes of childhood, she remained till death the loving child of Westphalian moor and heath, of the ancestral moated manor of Hülshoff, of home memories and home attachments.

The family of Droste-Hülshoff had for hundreds of years held its place among the Kleinadel or squirearchy of Münsterland. The house stood solitary at a distance of many miles from the nearest town, with two rows of windows in its huge roof, surrounded by a moat which broadened on one side into a pond, by capacious barns and stables and by a well-planted little park. Around spread out a wide flat country, with no diversity of hills or rocks or flowing streams; here and there boasting pleasant woods and ponds rich in wild flowers; elsewhere an unfruitful region of barren moor or light sand. "Singular sleepy land," exclaims Annette.

Singular sleepy land! mild elemental powers! winds habitually soft and plaintive! dreaming waters! small, quiet thunderstorms with no reverberation! tranquil, fair-haired, blue-eyed population, who never curse, seldom sing or whistle, but whose lips are very ready to form a comfortable smile when at their work they stop (every five minutes or so) to study the clouds or send smoke from their little cutty pipes towards a heaven with which they seem to feel themselves on quite friendly terms!

These peasants had for centuries been learning a quiet life under the kindly rule of the Bishops of Münster, their feudal lords. Primitive and slow, they kept alive, with many virtues, many notable superstitions. Not even in the Scotch Highlands was the belief in second sight more firmly established than in Münsterland.

In the same descriptive sketch Annette, writing under a thin disguise, gives a summer night's impression of her own home:

The tower clock has just struck 10, but it is really not yet night. I have just been brought a splendid new tallow candle, and am evidently expected to sink at once into the down—I who in the city am accustomed to begin my game of piquet at 11! A quarter of an hour ago I heard the draw-bridge rattling up, a sign that all is over and done, and that the house now stands under the protection of heaven and the broad moat—the latter, be it said in passing, being in some places no more than knee deep; but that's of no consequence; the water is real water, and nobody could wade through it without getting notably wet—protection enough against thieves and hobgoblins.

Then we may follow Annette's footsteps out over the seemingly uninteresting moor and pasture lands which begirt her home. She has glorified them in her "Haidebilder," "Moorland Pictures," which contain, perhaps, the most original and successful efforts of her genius. They combine the refinement of Tennyson's "Dying Swan" with the plain vigor of Crabbe, and with an eeriness peculiarly their own. A good specimen, especially as to the last characteristic, is "The Boy on the Moor," which Miss Clarke has translated in her *Month* article. I offer instead, however, a version of "The House on the Moor"—a genre-piece much less typical, but which happily blends, I think, minute observation with refined idealism:

How fair amid the sombre pines,
Like nestling yellow-hammer,
Deep-roofed in straw, yon cottage shines
In sunset's golden glamor.

From stable window doth appear,
Where chain and straw bed rustle,
Huge horns, white forehead of a steer
Who sniffs with dripping muzzle.

A little garden, thorn-begirt,
Allures the stranger sweetly
With drooping roses, tulips pert,
Bedded and bordered neatly.

Therein a little maid, who rakes
With backward-folded kirtle,
And now a lily stem she breaks,
Now trims a prickly myrtle.

Dark rising on yon golden rim
Three shepherd lads are coming,
An olden month of Mary hymn
Now one, now all are humming.

An axe falls, crashing, in the yard,
Some giant log dividing;
Now tells a handsaw, grating hard,
Of steady muscle grinding.

See, o'er the fretted pines aloof,
The twilight star ascending;
It seemeth o'er the cottage roof
In benediction bending.

'Tis all a picture, such as olden
Cloister walls displayed them,
Where monks artistic on a golden
Background finely laid them:

The carpenter; the herds; from them
 The ditty softly sounding;
 The maiden with her lily stem;
 The peace divine abounding;

The star that from the blue lets fall
 Its solitary ray;
 Oh, tell us, in yon little stall,
 Is Christ born here to-day?

It was in January, 1797, that the fated poet of these scenes first saw the light. Four days later, amid a vast assemblage of uncles, aunts and cousins, she was held over the baptismal font by her great-grandmother and received the ponderous appellation of Anna Elizabeth Francisca Adolphina Wilhelmina Louisa Mary. From the beginning a frail, sensitive and excitable child, she had all need of the sedulous, if somewhat rigid, care which fortunately marked her bringing-up. It was an old-fashioned household, that of Hülshoff. Immemorial usages prevailed; domestic order and discipline, respect for age and authority were so thoroughly a part of life that we can trace their influence in our poet even to the close of her career. There was a domestic chaplain; common prayer and daily Mass ranked first among family observances. One is more surprised, however, to find that this sleepy-looking "moated grange" stood upon a level of intellect and cultivation no less high than that of its morals and piety. Its currents both of thought and of action were chiefly directed by one personage—the Baroness, Annette's mother, a woman of great energy and capacity, who had in her youth written elegant verses and was now admired as a model Hausfrau. She acted on the wise belief that the singular receptivity and activity of her daughter's mind were best to be dealt with by providing for it abundant and wholesome occupation. The little girl was consequently put face to face with an extensive educational programme, including everything her brothers learnt and some things they did not. It is not surprising that her acquirements became exceptional. As she grew up she could read with ease Latin, French, English and Dutch. She knew a little of Italian and Greek, something more of mathematics, physical sciences and history, while botany and geology remained through life favorite pursuits. In the early days before her twentieth year it seemed as if music and not verse were to be the chief voice of her inner life. Old German music and the popular songs of Westphalia had a special charm; they stimulated her to interesting compositions and to vocal performances which seem to have had a somewhat weird attractiveness.

The Baron von Droste-Hülshoff, in his youth not undistinguished in camps, was now a pious and gentle soul, with cultivated tastes and some hobbies and oddities. Annette has pictured for us, not

without humor, his violin playing, his aviary, his tulips, his herb-arium of native flowers, his delight in the mysterious and horrible, his love of "printed bloodshed" and his "*Liber Mirabilis*." This singular volume was nothing less than a carefully kept register wherein the Baron noted down in Latin all unearthly occurrences that in any way came under his notice—omens, prophecies, visions, witchcraft, second sight and the like.

Our poet inherited her mother's clear intellect and firm character, but colored (one may say) by nearly all the peculiarities of the father. Two brothers and a sister completed a happy home circle. Naturally enough birthday greetings were the earliest manifestations of the child's poetic talent. They appeared when she was only seven or eight. At the age of nine she penned a very solemn quatrain, thus closely reproduced by Miss Clarke:

How quickly the pleasures of life are gone past,
How short, oh, how short is the time that they last!
Delightful they are, we would fain hold them fast,
But the hour is soon fled; they are past, they are past!

Very smooth lines and advanced reflections for an authoress of nine! Yet, strange to say, Annette reached her twenty-second year without completing any work of permanent value.

The time of passage from girlhood into womanhood, to which we must now hasten, had its full interest in the biography of our poet. It was a time of severe inner conflict—conflict between the gay world which Annette encountered in her city visits, and a deep-rooted impatience of its pettiness and frivolity; conflict between a strong poetic vocation and the claims of aristocratic family life; conflict between an ardent and strong soul and a slight and weak physical organization; conflict, finally, between strongly rooted piety and harassing spectres of doubt.

Now we read a letter about new acquaintances, new dresses, evening parties; next comes one to Uhland or the Brothers Grimm in reference to their labors in German folklore. Then follow hours of painful solitary brooding; two of her relatives, mother and daughter, are carried off by unexpected death upon the same day, and the news becomes a text for unsparing considerations on the hollowness of all earthly pursuits. At one time we find her thanking heaven for having made her home life so happy; but then again there are lyrics, there is a narrative poem, an unfinished drama, wherein a bitter life-weariness, a passionate *Weltschmerz* seem to speak out plainly. Sometimes the interior darkness seems unbroken by the light of heaven; nevertheless, it was this period which gave birth to the first half of the "*Spiritual Year*," a series of poems purely religious and devotional. Thus various and bewildering were the

voices of a soul which was very sincere, though nowise given to self-display.

From the effusions of Annette's early romanticism no extract need here be offered. They are usually marked by faults quite antithetic to the characteristics of her mature verse. As to the "Spiritual Year," however, the general high level of merit makes selection a difficult task. In their combination of fine feeling, sincere emotion and masterly versification these religious poems have seldom been equaled. Sometimes, indeed, their tone is a little hard and their rhythm a little curt; they are not remarkable for that flowing tenderness which is the most popular merit of religious verse. Annette has told us that her spiritual songs are not meant on the one hand for the gay and frivolous, nor on the other for saintly, God-united souls. Their appeal is indeed somewhat limited. They are the utterances of one continually conflicting with darkness, fear and scrupulosity. Some verses from the poem "For Ash Wednesday" may help towards realizing their general character:

Upon my brow this cross
Of ashes grey:
O paltry charm of life,
How well unto our loss
Thou dost betray!
With hues in sunny strife,
Scarlet and snow,
Thou coverest the foul decay beneath,
Till stealing death
Strippeth all masks away.

Cometh a skeleton
Before mine eye,
All horrent stands my hair,
I quake to look upon
What shall be—I,
To what the hours prepare
My change even now,
What I can touch and find
In self enshrined,
Self's bitter mockery.

Thou miserable flesh,
That heart and will
Oft tanglest in the fold
Of vile and traitorous mesh,
Life gilds thee still;
But soon art thou ice cold,
The sport of worms,
Degraded to a clod:
Oh! then may God
The immortal hope fulfil.

Surely an extraordinary production for a girl of twenty, this sombre religious poem, so uncompromising in its stern realism!

The degree to which Annette's religious beliefs were shaken by doubt has been variously estimated.¹ In her frequent visits to

¹ The question has been treated in a thoroughly competent manner by Father Wilhelm Kreiten, S. J., in the complete edition of the poet's works brought out by him and the Baroness von Droste-Hülshoff (her niece).

Bonn she usually resided with her cousin, Professor Clement von Droste-Hülshoff, occupant of the chair of canon law and a prominent defender of the views known as "Hermesianism." Hermes, their first propagator, had shortly before been a professor in Bonn University. His theories were a rationalizing of Christianity to the detriment of faith, and later on, in 1835, they were condemned by Pope Gregory XVI. Not merely this heresy, but other forms also of denial and skepticism floated in the atmosphere which Annette breathed in her cousin's house. Alert and keen as her mind was, she appears nevertheless to have modestly refrained from taking a part in theological controversies. She suffered (she tells us) the Hermesian and similar questions to remain "all Hebrew to her." An ear-witness relates that when once, after 1835, the doctrines condemned in that year were brought forward by some one as still defensible, she said: "Rome has spoken, and I don't see how the question is open any longer"—words which in that time and place were no commonplace profession of faith. Yet there seems no doubt that intercourse with Bonn circles left in a mind equally devout and intelligent the seeds of difficulties and questionings, of that state of internal conflict which finds full and even painful expression in the "Spiritual Year."

Fortunately, however, Annette formed at the same period a friendship which proved a sedative to this inner turmoil and at the same time a stimulant to literary work. Professor Schlüter, of Münster, was three years younger than the Fräulein von Droste; but his learning was already extensive, and a serious and noble character had been early ripened by calamity. In his twenty-first year he had completely lost the use of his eyes. It was Annette's prudent mother who first thought of the young professor as a useful director of her daughter's mental cultivation and literary activity. Soon the latter's confidence was completely won. Fervently religious, enlightened, candid and sympathetic, Schlüter well repaid to the end the friendly reliance of mother and daughter.

Needless to say, he was not her only critic. On the contrary, she seems to have been richly provided with eager censors and candid friends, and her letters tell sufficiently often the consequent tale of bewilderment and boredom. One of the most persistent, severe and capable of her admonitors was Levin Schücking, who (long after) made some name for himself in German literature. He was thirteen years younger than Annette, to whose protection his mother, when dying, had commended him. To Schücking she pointedly alludes in "Das Eselein," although it also satirizes false idealism in general. She introduces us to her Pegasus, not (she says) a singularly attractive beast, but yet "his flanks were strong

and supple, and clear light filled his eyes." A gifted young man, however, appears, with a talent and a passion for beautifying everything. He takes the colt into his charge and begins to ply all manner of cosmetic implements, mostly painful in application:

Your coloring, too, cannot possibly do,
Not black, yet failing in brightness,
No tint of romance, no learned blue,
No clear historical whiteness. . . .

And as to that tail, flapping out like a sail,
Whose wildness you may think charming,
It's against every rule of the modern school,
And calls for a thorough reforming.

So brisk went the shears from crupper to ears
To carry the full design out,
Not a tuft nor a hair would the tweezers spare,
Till the beau-ideal should shine out.

At length the reformer, proud of his work, invites to a view:

"Behold with pride," so the artist cried,
"A steed no stable surpasses."
But fancy my horror to catch in the mirror
No Pegasus' form—but an ass's!

Another friendship, that with a poetically-given married lady, Sibylla Mertens, brought Annette abundant opportunities of displaying self-devotion and amiable endurance. On at least two occasions, visits made by her to Bonn or Coblenz, with a view to rest and recovery of health, were turned into a long and trying confinement to the sick room of the still frailer Sibylla Mertens. "I don't know what you are thinking of me, dear old mother," so runs a hasty letter home, "but I know very well that I am not to be blamed, and for the last four weeks hardly knew if my head were on my shoulders or not. I have been tending poor Sibylla day and night, almost quite alone, for she had just before dismissed her maid, who drank, and so she couldn't stand her. . . . I have still to get up once or twice almost every night. I have the whole household to look after, as well as the two children, and have certainly more than twenty keys to use every day."

One of these two children afterwards remembered how sometimes, in the midst of her trying exertions for a houseful of people whom she might have treated as mere strangers, Annette would sit down to amuse them with the most charming stories, spun out with endless fertility of invention. To one of these children also she addressed, fifteen years later, a beautiful but melancholy poem, wherein she recalls that long confinement to the sick room and the gladness to escape from it:

Within the little hut among the pines
How we two lunched on luscious peach and grape,
And held high festival for our escape
From wakeful nights and daylong toil and fears!
And then we trained the tender sprouting vines,
And said: "How fair a bower these will drape
After yet fifteen years!"

Yet fifteen years! O cruel time and slow!
 Those tiny elms now darken all the slope,
 Our little rustic temple scarce would ope
 Its creaking door, its drear decay to show.
 But on the terrace, in a new green bower,
 Fit paradise for life's most hopeful hour,
 Two stand and gaze into each other's soul,
 While warm winds flutter in her locks' brown wealth.
 Dear child, God bless thee, leave thee all youth's dower,
 Mirth and true love and health.

But she who bore thee, she upon whose brow
 I've seen the light thine own reflecteth now,
 Now with her old friend at the gate she stands,
 Pressing farewell on her more pallid hands;
 Hers from beside whose feet the golden stream
 Of youth has ebbed faster than thou canst dream.
 Their looks and words—thou call'st our parting cold?
 Ah, we are stiffened stems, but more unailing;
 Tearless indeed, but true; for both are ailing,
 Ah, both are sad and old!²

To come back to the youthful days of which these lines are so wistful a retrospect, Annette seems to have made, on the whole, a favorable impression upon the social gatherings of Münster, Cologne and Bonn. To commonplace people she appeared eccentric; into vapid retailers of small talk she appears occasionally to have struck terror. Her highly-strung nerves as well as her exceptional mental gifts excluded patient toleration from the list of her special merits. On the other hand, she had considerable talent as a *raconteuse* and as a mimic. So good was her imitation of a certain shopkeeper in Cologne, who philosophized in an odd medley of High German and local dialect, that some of her hearers afterwards made pilgrimages to hear the original. Her appearance was very much out of the common. A small and slight figure supported a somewhat large head, and this was crowned with that almost fabulous adornment, really golden hair. The features were strongly and nobly cut; the eyes exceedingly prominent, with a mysterious far-gazing expression—a peculiarity closely connected with the prosaic fact that Annette was exceedingly short-sighted. It is singular enough that, hampered by this physical defect, she should have so signally succeeded as a miniature painter of external nature. As a matter of fact she availed herself very largely, for minute observations both scientific and poetic, of the aid of eye-glasses and telescopes.

Such did Annette appear between her twentieth and thirtieth years, for her, as for most of us, the liveliest and most expansive time of life. I have spoken of strong friendships won during that time. Did no stronger feeling arise to quicken the currents of the soul? What space is occupied in her biography and her poetry by

² These stanzas represent only the latter half of the poem, "After Fifteen Years." I may here remark that the literature of the translations given in the text is generally in inverse proportion to the difficulty of the metre adopted.

that passion which woke the lyre ages before Sappho, and which poets have even feigned rather than leave unsung? The question brings before us perhaps the most singular aspect of this eminent woman's life and art. Of her life; for although a legend exists of an attachment, an unhappy attachment, which had to be broken off because of the inferior rank of the suitor, there exists scarcely a shred of evidence to support the romantic tale. Of her art; for throughout its whole varied range the note of personal love, other than to relatives, is not heard. It would be difficult to find any similar silence in the work of a great poet. Dante, rapt into Paradise, sang of the idealized Beatrice, and in the cloister lyrists, like Bernard or Teresa, addressed glowing verses to objects of mystic adoration. But Annette's heart utters no voice of tender passion, whether earthly or transfigured; she frequently writes with insight and feeling of passion in others, but remains silent concerning herself. Hence her poetry offers a varied freshness of theme to those weary of the never-ending tinkle of the modern amorous monochord.

To the domestic affections her heart and lyre responded sensitively. In 1827 her elder brother married; a few months later her much-loved father unexpectedly died. The happy family circle was forever broken. On her father's grave Annette laid no poetic offering. She felt his loss too deeply to sing his elegy. "There are graves," she tells us, "where lamentation is hushed, but the heart bleeds in secret; no drop is seen on the eyelid, but sorrow crushes the soul within. Yet they are also places of refuge, of true consolation and of immortal lessons." Such for her was the grave of her father. Her father's house she and her widowed mother resigned to its young lord and his wife. They retired to an old half farmhouse, half villa not far away, the Hülshoff dower house. Lost among trees and fields, the "Rush House" (Rüsch-haus) was stiller and lonelier even than Hülshoff, and under its shadows Annette may be said to have passed out from youth into a still and lonely middle age. Occasionally visits of some duration would be paid to friends at a distance, occasionally (though less often) a guest would brighten up the silent dower house. But sensitive, frail and frequently ill as the Freiin was she had a horror of traveling and welcomed but a few chosen visitors. She fell into some curious valetudinarian habits. She admits the fact herself, and gaily details some of her peculiarities: "I don't breakfast till 10.30; then I take cold milk mixed with cold water or with a little cold coffee; then for dinner potatoes with some cold meat. I have got so accustomed to this that hot food always makes me unwell; but it's a whim," she admits, "and I am subject to whims." She was not, however, self-

indulgent or idle. She read, studied and wrote; she roamed around geologizing or botanizing; she made collections of various curiosities. For collecting old watches she had a special hobby, commemorated in her poem "Die Steckenpferde." Her prime favorite was one huge watch which struck, quite of itself, the hours, half hours and quarters. This noisy pet she used to bring everywhere about with her, and could scarcely settle down to work or rest without having it by her side.

Nor did Annette forget to emulate the solitary burden to which she in one poem compares herself—the linden out on the wide heath, which sheltered from sun or rain all sorts of wayfarers. She was devotedly attentive to her old nurse. Once every year she brought off the old peasant woman to spend a day with her relatives; then the Fräulein's seldom-worn silks and jewels would be brought to light, and she took a naïf delight in the pleasure felt by the good country folk at seeing their old Hännchen accompanied and petted by so splendid a young lady. The peasant children of the neighborhood soon discovered Annette's marvelous talent as a storyteller, and would waylay her about the grounds or gather beneath her window and insist on hearing a specimen of her art. Her income of some £400 a year was constantly at the service of the distressed. Poor students seem to have been a favorite object of her benevolence; to one such she contributed no less than £60 for the continuance of his university career.

Yet, on the whole, the life of the poet at the Rush House was characterized above all things by its deep loneliness—a loneliness which became intensified when, as frequently happened, Annette could not be induced to accompany her mother and sister on their more or less prolonged visits to the houses of distant friends. The utter solitude of the days and weeks she then spent often affected her (she admits) to such a degree that she felt "like one in a dream, and hardly knew whether she were in time or eternity." These long spells of lonely brooding brought forth some characteristic products. One was a poem of over 800 lines, entitled "The Physician's Bequest." It is full of true poetic power, but its theme is exceedingly obscure and its moral coloring exceedingly dark. A young man sits down amid a smiling spring landscape to read a document which has been sent to him from the hand of his dying father. The latter has closed a life whose last years had been spent in a state of semi-insanity. His "bequest," bearing evidence of the writer's disturbed mental condition, narrates the circumstances under which his reason was shaken; how he had once been called forth, as a physician, to attend a mysterious patient in a mysterious retreat of robbers, and had there become a participator in a mysterious crime. The most

careful reading will hardly give a clearer notion of the too obscure subject of this poem. In its working out Annette displays high poetic power; but its selection showed some lack of judgment, and certainly a morbid state of feeling.

Not very much more happy was her choice of subject for another important product of the same period (1828-1834). The 2,700 lines of "The Hospice on the Great St. Bernard" are mainly occupied with descriptions, connected by a slight and not too happily conducted narrative; and these descriptions introduce us to regions which were unfamiliar to the author, but which, since her time, have been over-described. I have said enough, I think, to account for the fact that this longest of the poet's works, in spite of great merits, has never attracted, and probably never will attract, many readers.

In 1835 a pleasant change broke in upon the excessive dullness of Annette's existence, a long visit to a romantic mansion in romantic Switzerland. Her sister had become the wife of Joseph Baron von Lassberg, a man remarkable for the enthusiasm and energy with which he sought to keep alive old German ideals, old German manners, old German literature. His house near Lake Constance was a veritable museum of antiquities, and more than that, a focus of antique patriotism. Here, though not without occasional sighs for her Westphalian home-land, Annette, detained at once by affectionate urgency and the counsels of physicians, prolonged her stay for nearly two years. Here she could roam upon the Alpine slopes, by the lake-shores or mid the rich pastures of Thurgau. Here she could decipher the famous Lassberg manuscripts, such as that of the *Nibelungenlied*; she could converse with men like Uhland and Simrock. Strengthened in body and mind, she brought to completion in 1838 the third and most successful of her long poems. It was a brilliant and vigorous narrative on a national subject—"The Battle of Lohner Bruch," commemorating a passage of the Thirty Years' War of which Westphalia was the theatre. Her countrymen were much gratified; her fellow-Catholics, however, regretted that once more her subject was not an ideal one, her poem being largely, in fact, a glorification of the Protestant leader, Christian of Brunswick, and reëchoing accusations, always uncertain and since disproved, against the brave and high-minded Tilly. As to the merits of the execution, however, there has been no dissentient voice. Johann Scherr goes so far as to say that "this poem may boldly take its stand beside the best that in any literature of the world has been said or sung of war and weapons." Singular praise, truly, to be earned by a quiet invalid woman! One, and perhaps only one, difficulty would I urge against the acceptance of this high estimate; it is that the general inspiration of "The Battle of Lohner Bruch" is not suf-

ficiently original. It is Walter Scott reproduced in German. Annette had read devoutly her "Marmion" and her "Lay of the Last Minstrel." It may be, however, that, once started, she rises quite as high as her illustrious leader. Her local coloring, like his, is so full and precise that it makes difficulties for the translator, and interferes, perhaps, with wide popularity. For this and other reasons I have neglected to provide a really typical extract from a poem which requires and deserves to be read as a whole. The opening lines, however, offering a reposeful picture which contrasts admirably with the succeeding scenes, run somewhat in this manner :

The glories of the sunset hour
Play on Westphalia's oaken groves,
Bid tender farewell to each flower,
To lake and pool, whose silver ripples
Fling glittering back a thousand loves;
While margent lilies softer gleam,
And all the reeds so gently whisper
Back to the ebbing wind, 'twould seem
The last good-night some tiny lisper
Returns, soft-couched by tender hand,
And sunken half to slumber-land.

More calm the landscape grows, more pale;
And gently falls eve's holy veil,
Its mystery of dusk and dew;
So falleth o'er the widow's face
The heavy-shrouding sable lace,
Which yet a tear may glitter through.

Space will not allow details as to the history of the publication of this or any other of Annette's works. Suffice it to note, for the consolation of the unprinted or unsold poet whose eyes may fall on these lines, that none of her productions were printed till 1838, her forty-first year; that they were then left almost unnoticed by the discerning eyes of the periodic press, and that it took three years to sell off her first edition of 500 copies!

Between 1837 and 1841, years spent partly at the Rüsche-Haus, partly at another quiet family property, partly with her brother and his circle at Hülshoff, "The Spiritual Year," dear to the gentle-minded Schlüter, was completed and a work of very different character was taken up. This was a comedy named "Perdu." Annette has amusingly described for us the reason which led to her making this attempt. "Here," she writes, "people are pulling every string to get me to write something comic. This perpetual teasing makes me half annoyed, half irresolute. I think humor becomes but few people, and very seldom suits a woman's pen. For the present I couldn't think of it. To-day a joke and to-morrow a sacred song—that would never do! Such states of mind are not to be put on and off like clothes, although many people seem to think they can."

Four weeks later she has finished "The Spiritual Year." "Tired

of hearing for twenty years that I quite misunderstand my own talent, I have set to work at a business that is repugnant to my inmost nature. I do not expect it to be an utter failure; I am not without a humorous vein; but it does not characterize my ordinary and most natural disposition; it is only called forth by that gay half-intoxication which comes upon us in numerous and lively society, when the air is full of sparks of wit and each endeavors to outdo the other in smartness and fun. But the very thought of sitting down to write a comedy makes me above all things inclined to yawn!"

It was not inevitable, but neither is it surprising, that the comedy produced in such a spirit should have been an utter failure. Such it was—a failure which, considering the author's apparent endowment for comic drama, "has hardly been paralleled save by Charles Lamb's unlucky farce, 'Mr H.'" Fortunately, Annette's piece, unlike Lamb's, did not get as far as the stage. It circulated among her friends, and while giving little satisfaction, caused some annoyance. Many individuals thought they saw themselves satirized in this or that personage, and the authoress had, in fact, yielded a little to a satiric propensity which was destined to bring her into further troubles.

In 1841 Annette revisited Switzerland under circumstances yet more favorable than those of her first sojourn. The Baron von Lassberg and her sister now inhabited the castle of Meersburg, situated on the northern shore of Lake Constance. In a landscape of varied grandeur and charm Meersburg rose, a huge and romantic monument of ancient times. Its great tower had been built by King Dagobert in the seventh century, Charles Martel had laid some of its walls, Guelphs and Hohenstaufen had in turn possessed it; then the bishops of Constance had made it their chief stronghold. We may speak of it as the home of Annette's last years. Return to the cold and foggy winters of Westphalia became more and more dangerous to her weak health, and though in 1846 she purchased a little house and estate of her own, yet it lay quite close to the ancient fortress.

Needless to say, Suabia and Switzerland were not left unsung by their northern guest. Her heart and its longings remained indeed singularly true to the flat moors and sands of her native Münsterland, but she could not be insensible to the charm of these foreign rocks and woods and waters. She consigned her impressions in a few admirable lyrics. One of these brings again before us Levin Schücking, whom we met previously as the would-be reformer of her Pegasus. She had obtained for him the post of librarian at Meersburg and treated him with a sort of maternal familiarity. "The Inn on the Lake" is a record of a pleasant day spent by the

twain, and was rapidly improvised at the very spot described.³ In its quick but happy changes of tone there is all the charm of a true improvisation:

How pleasant the secluded spot, Levin!
The little hostel, perched upon the slope,
The vast and varied splendor in its scope,
Its little host, so comical of mien.
Odd contrast 'twixt the tiny man, his eyes
Outbeaming flattery, his rolling gait,
His brisk officiousness and the cold state
Of those unbending Alpine majesties!

Now sit! Grapes ho! And promptly doth appear
Our dapper landlord, with neat queue behind.
O see, for very ripeness from the rind
Of the rich fruit droppeth a blood-red tear!
Feed then unsparing from the crystal bowl
That lures thee with its rubies honey-cored;
But I, beside the Autumn's generous board,
Feel sullen Winter creep with stealthy sole.

Such dismal reveries but mysteries are
To thee, young blood. Then I'll be merry, too,
By thy dear side and drain my glass anew.
But look, what wonders, whether near or far!
How tower behind the rugged granite steep,
Seeming 'twere ours to reach in twenty strides;
How far below the unheard torrent glides,
Seeming—to cross it were one easy leap!

Hearst the Alphorn over the blue lake?
From yonder hills of Switzerland, so clear,
So calm the air, almost I seem to hear
The cow-bells tinkling, see the herdsmen take
Their craggy homeward path. Say, does there hang
A chamois there, where the ravine cuts deep?
And now a hunter's figure seems to creep—
Why, eyes would sure not miss them, if they sprang.

Fall to! The snowy giants lie afar,
Near is the ancient Burg, our kindly home,
Where lies the Past in many a mouldered tome
In rugged rhymes of angry love and war.
Me well befitteth, when the fancy falls,
To wake old sorrows from their dusty sleep;
But thou, Levin, dost gaily chirp and peep,
Like a young swallow 'mong the grim, grey walls.

See, out upon the sunset-reddened floor
Cometh and goeth the black diver's head;
Now down she plunges, like the fisher's lead,
Now floats she on a tiny wave once more.
And as we gaze, our thoughts together flow—
'Tis Life's apt image on that glassy plain.
But thou art thinking, she will rise again,
And I reflect, she sinks again below.

Now for one last glance on this favored land,
On mountain, meadow and wide-curving sea;
Then home—for surely from the balcony
Our path ere now by anxious eyes is scanned.
Quick to the road!—but see, our host comes pressing,
All smile and duck and nod, unto the gate.
"Safe home! Good-night! Sleep soundly and sleep late!"
Such is the merry Suabian's vesper blessing.

³ Annette had remarkable powers of rapid poetic production. A considerable section of her lyrics was actually produced within a fortnight, in accordance with a wager; no doubt many of the pieces existed already in her mind or in crude form. On the other hand, like some other rapid improvisers, she was fond of brooding over first attempts and minutely applying the file—not always with happy results.

The friendship of Levin Schücking, for whom she had done very much, was lost to Annette before her death. He married, and the young wife and the old friend did not prove sympathetic. More than this, he had drifted into aggressively Liberal views, and had published some "Teudenzromane," containing some satirical portraits of aristocratic personages, which his patroness was thought, quite ungroundedly, to have helped him to sketch. In 1846 the estrangement was complete. Already Annette was undergoing another severe trial. In 1845 she began anonymously in Görres' "Historisch-Politische Blätter" a series of prose "Pictures from Westphalia," and although no unprejudiced reader will charge these sketches with imprudent frankness or excessive satire, they nevertheless excited quite a tempest of wounded feelings. A self-centred provincial society is ever exceedingly quick to scent satire in any description of itself and its surroundings; and the good people of Münster and Paderborn proved no exception. Annette's own friends and even family circle seem to have joined, with few exceptions, in the outcry against the disloyal portrayer. It is true that the secret of authorship was remarkably well kept, remaining for a couple of years the property of two or three persons. But the pain to Annette was little lessened by this precarious incognito. Constant ill health still filled up the measure of sorrows for one whose life had tasted much of bitterness.

It is not surprising if the literary products of the two or three closing years show that her spirits, as well as her health, were broken. Her long-maintained correspondence with Schlüter flickered out. Intensely nervous, she shrank from all intercourse with strangers; two little nieces, however, were (and are still, if I mistake not) able to testify that her skill and willingness to amuse children remained as of old. She seems to have largely sought her consolation in exercises of piety. The quiet parlor and chapel of the Dominican nuns at Constance were her frequent haunts, and in one of her poems she expresses self-reproach that she had not long before had the courage to break absolutely with a world that had offered her so many thorns.

Fortunately, however, for posterity, while life remained, poet she could not cease to be. Under the simple title "Am Boden See," "By Lake Constance," she has rendered some of the emotions of those closing years in lines which have securely entered upon immortality. It is a picture from the twilight of day and of life, the shadowy outlines of which make translation a peculiarly difficult task:

Wearily over the wide plain creeping
The pallid night fog thickeneth,

Panteth the twilight's heavy breath
As a tired horse whose rider's sleeping,
In the fisher's hut no lamp doth glimmer,
In the lonely tower no crickets wake;
Nothing is heard but the low simmer,
The unresting heart-beat, of the lake.

I hear the waves on the reeking strand
Toss, toss for ever, their ceaseless fall
Crumbling the stones of the nodding wall,
Rustle on the pebbles, swish on the sand;
And mid the monotonous breaking, breaking,
Upsurgeth a sound of hollow lament,
Like a voice of pain from lips half pent
Like a distant roar of storm upwaking.

* * * * *

Hast thou then seen, hast mirrored so much,
That in thy dreams it must o'er glide thee,
That quivers thy subtle nerve at the touch
Of human footstep falling beside thee?
Gone, all gone—the brave and the strong,
The rich and mighty, the poor and small,
And naught remains but, thy floor along,
The broken reflection of them all!

The knight who spurred on the battle morn
From his castle gate—now the briars stretch,
And the sauntering tourist sits to sketch
Where his archway frowned its granite scorn.
The poor old mother, who laid her shroud
Forth on thy shelving stones to bleach;
The sick man, creeping along thy beach
To look his last on sunlight and cloud.

The child, who raised his tottering tower
Of sand and pebbles; the happy bride,
Who smiled as she flung upon thy tide
Leaf after leaf of the lover's flower;
The poet, who beat with rolling eye
His verses out to thy monody;
The pilgrim who sat, ere he passed, on the stone—
All, all, like mist on the wind, are gone.

Art thou so faithful, old water fairy,
Holdest all clasped, lettest none depart?
Has Truth, then, sunk from her ancient eyry,
Her hold in the hills, to dwell in thy heart?
Then O look on me—for like foam I pass!
So, when above me green waves the grass,
My face, long mouldered to dust, shall seem
Once more to quiver across thy dream.

A strange wish—that one's face should be writ in water! Annette faded away gradually beside the long-remembered Suabian lake. Yet the end, when it came, was somewhat sudden and unexpected. In May, 1848, death found her quite alone in the tower chamber she occupied as a guest at Meersburg. Near her were found a few lines of verse she had recently been writing. They give a pleasant impression of unaltered kindness in retrospect and of serene confidence in the eternal future.

In a churchyard shadowed by the gray fortress of Dagobert, in view of the Swiss mountains and the Suabian Sea, amid slopes rich in corn and wine, were laid to rest the mortal remains of Annette von Droste-Hülshoff. Beside her, only a few months later, was laid

her noble kinsman, Baron Joseph von Lassberg; and now a handsome Gothic chapel rises over both.

Few poets have found a more picturesque resting place. Yet she doubtless would have chosen a grave in the north, near the stiller waters of Hülshoff, amid those Westphalian tilths and moors and sand-wastes that nurtured her childhood, and whose shyest charms she had the unique gift to interpret.

The specimens I have imperfectly rendered of her work have each one represented a different aspect of her genius; and the gallery, such as it is, is far from complete. She attempted, doubtless, too many things; but there were few departments of poetic literature in which she did not produce some excellent work. To attempt to summarize in conclusion so many-sided a genius, so unusual a character, were to make my epilogue too long and difficult. I am satisfied to have provided materials for forming a first estimate, and to have encouraged, as I hope, some few to make better acquaintance with a poet whose very merits have hitherto contributed to delay just renown, and (perhaps I may add) with a woman whose life-story, though uneventful, does not lack pathetic interest.

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THE SOCIETY OF JESUS AS ORIGINALLY FORMED AND APPROVED BY POPE PAUL III.*

DESCRIBING the condition of Europe contemporary with the military career of Ignatius Loyola, who, while suffering from serious wounds, was miraculously moved to the contemplation of Almighty God, the historian of the Society of Jesus outlines the ecstatic stages of progress of self-edification in the soul of the future saint.¹ His completion of his work on "Spiritual

* *Histoire Religieuse, Politique et Littéraire de la Compagnie de Jésus.* Composée sur les documents inédits et authentiques. Par J. Chrétineau Joly. Ouvrage orné des portraits. 6mo., Tomes 1-6, pp. 2600. Paris, 1845.

¹ J'entreprends une oeuvre difficile, impossible peut-être. Je veux raconter l'origine, les développements, les grandeurs, les sacrifices, les études, les mystérieuses combinaisons, les luttes, les vicissitudes de toute sorte, les ambitions, les fautes, les gloires, les persécutions et les martyres de la Compagnie de Jésus.

Je dirai la prodigieuse influence que cette Société exerça sur la religion; par ses saints, par ses apôtres; par ses théologiens, par ses orateurs, par ses moralistes; sur les rois par ses directeurs de conscience et par ses diplomates; sur les peuples, par sa charité et par ses doctes enseignements; sur la littérature, par ses poètes, par ses historiens, par ses savants, et par les

Exercises" described by Père Jouveney, for which St. Francis de Sales claimed "won more converts than there were letters in the work;" his gathering around him French and Spanish young men who became his disciples in devotional work; his long and persistent efforts to obtain recognition from the Holy See, which met with such poor success as would discourage most men not inspired with heavenly zeal as was Loyola; the ordination and associating under his leadership of his disciples, their works of charity and pulpit eloquence, and their success in breaking down heresy, which was continually cropping out, finally won for Loyola and his companions that recognition which induced Pope Paul III., on September 27, 1540, to proclaim the Bull "Regimini Militantis Ecclesiae," for the institution of the Society of Jesus.

This Bull is one of those Papal historical documents which places on record the founding of a new order for religious work by the Holy See, and which relates at great length the work already accomplished by Ignatius Loyola and his companions, Peter Lefèvre, James Laynès, Claud Lejay, Pasquier Brouet, Francis Xavier, Alphonsus Salmeron, Simon Rodriguez, John Codure and Nicolas Bobadilla, all priests of the cities and dioceses respectively of Pampeluna, Geneva, Siguenza, Toledo, Viseu, Embrun and Placentia; masters of arts, graduates from the University of Paris, and for several years pursuing theological studies.²

A general of the society was now to be elected. Four only of the fathers with Loyola were present in Rome; the others were engaged in spiritual works in other cities. A day was appointed for the election of a general; the absent fathers were notified and all directed to spend three days in prayer and contribute under seal the name of the preferred.

écrivans d'un gout et d'un style si purs qu'elle a produit dans toutes les langues.

Je la montrerai à son berceau militant pour l'Eglise Catholique et pour les monarchies que le Protestantisme naissant se donnait déjà mission de détruire.

Je pénétrerai dans ses collèges, d'où sortirent tant des personnages fameux, la gloire ou le malheur de leur patrie. Je la suivrai au delà de mers, sur tous ces scéans inconnus où le zèle de la maison du Seigneur entraînait ses Pères qui, après être devenus la lumière des Gentils, elargissaient le cadre de la civilisation et des sciences, et apprenaient aux hommes assis à l'ombre de la mort combien sont beaux les pieds de ceux qui évangélisent la paix. J'étudierai son Institut si peu connu, et dont on a parlé avec tant d'amour ou tant de haine.

J'approfondirai cette politique, si ténébreuse selon ses détracteurs, si à découvert selon ses partisans, mais qui a laissé une ineffaçable empreinte sur les seizième, dix-septième et dix-huitième siècles, l'époque la plus célèbre du monde par la diffusion des idées et par l'importance des événements.

² Histoire, etc., de la Compagnie de Jésus. Par J. Chrétineau Joly. Tome I., p. 36.

Ignatius Loyola was elected the first general of the Society of Jesus. The vote was unanimous. He refused and demanded another election, which was soon after held; but his companions would have no other leader, and he had to accede to their choice. At this time he had reached his 49th year. His head had become bald; his complexion was of an olive cast, but his face had become emaciated from fasting and prayer; his forehead was large and prominent, while his deep-set and brilliant eyes gave a particular type to his physiognomy. His vivid complexion, his warm heart and active mind, which he controlled so well, would lead a casual observer to believe he was phlegmatic; but this was not so. He was of medium stature, and when walking managed to hide his lameness to a considerable extent. His general appearance indicated the saint as well as the great man; for Ignatius Loyola, by his virtues and by his works, had deserved the latter title more than had at the time many diplomats, soldiers and legists.

On Easter Sunday, April 17, 1541, he formally accepted the control of the Society of Jesus. On the 22d of the same month, after visiting the basilicas of Rome, he reached that of St. Paul without the walls. The general celebrated Mass at the altar of the Blessed Virgin. Before Communion he turned toward his followers. In one hand he held the Sacred Host, in the other the formula of the vows, which he read with a loud voice, promising obedience to the Sovereign Pontiff in regard to missions and the requirements specified in the Bull "Regimini Militantis Ecclesiae" of the Holy Father. Then placing five hosts on the paten and approaching Fathers Laynès, Brouet, Codure and Salmeron, who were kneeling at the foot of the altar, he received their professions and administered to each Holy Communion. This was the consecration of the society.³

The portrait of the founder and future saint which faces the title page of the first volume of J. Chrétineau Joly's historical work, which is a subject for the study of the interested reader, corresponds with the foregoing outline of his personal appearance.

It remained for the founder of the Society of Jesus to formulate the conditions under which new members were to be received and to codify the rules for the government of the order. Primarily, ex-members of any other religious order were ineligible. Those accepted as novices voluntarily renounced family connection and all that men hold dear in this world, accepting the rôle of strict obedience. He created six degrees in the society. Novices were divided into three classes: those destined for the priesthood, for temporal work and *indiferents*; the latter were those who joined the order willing to serve as priests or as temporal coadjutors, as the superiors deemed advisable.

³ Joly, Tome i., p. 43.

The *frères temporels formés* were those employed in the service of the communities as sacristans, porters or cooks. After ten years of probation, and when they had attained 30 years of age, they were admitted to public vows. The *scholastiques approuvés* were those who had finished their novitiate, made to God the simple vows of religion and who continued their probation either in private study, in teaching or in other duties until making their final vows. The *coadjutors spirituels formés*, so called, who were not sufficiently proficient to receive the four vows, having merit and ability, were admitted to the solemn profession, and who served as directors of colleges and residences, could not be promoted before 30 years of age and ten of religion.

The *profès des trois vœux*, who were always of a limited number, were those not having all the qualities requisite for the profession of the four vows, who were admitted to solemn profession because of such merit as was useful. Their duties were similar to those of the spiritual coadjutors. The *profès de quatre vœux* composed the society in all respects. They only could be elected general, assistant, secretary-general or provincial. They only were entitled to form part of the congregation who nominated the general and assistants.⁴

In so far as the observance of vows and rules, *a la manière de vivre*, there was no distinction in these different degrees. In personal care, clothing, food and lodging all was based upon the principle of perfect equality, from the general to the latest novice. While novices were allowed to retain their personal wealth, they could not dispose of the same without the consent of their superiors. The Holy See and the Council of Trent had sanctioned this rule, which was adopted in all Catholic countries except France. If, however, novices before making their profession desired to bestow a part or all of their personal wealth on the society, they could do so; but it was neither an obligation nor a duty.

The term of probation lasted from fifteen to eighteen years. Vows could not be made by candidates before they had reached the age of 33 years. Notwithstanding the diversity of climates and of nationalities, all had to conform to the life prescribed by the constitutions. Strict poverty was enjoined on the professed. Their respective houses could not hold property. They were, moreover, obliged by a special vow never to consent to a modification of this rule, unless to make it more strict.

The professed were forbidden to aspire to any position in the society, nor to accept any prelacy or ecclesiastical dignity, nor to seek such directly or indirectly. They could not accept such unless constrained by the Holy See under pain of mortal sin. This was

⁴ J. C. Joly, Tome I., p. 48.

the most effective method to close the door to ambitions and to preserve to the society its distinguished members. The professed accomplished all that was intended by the founder. They instructed, preached and directed. For these functions they could not accept money but only receive compensation as alms. Such conditions, including many special regulations, which the founder compiled, became part of the monastic constitution and the code of laws of the society.

The Institute of the Society of Jesus was unique. It had no model in the world, nor has it served as such for other organizations. It insists upon much perfection on the part of those who submit to its rule. It was founded at an epoch so exceptional that no surprise need be felt at the excitement created by the peculiarity of its discipline, which became its strength, while other associations were weak and languid.⁵

Having attempted to define the laws regulating the respective degrees of the society, it remains to explain in what manner its founder established his rule of authority. The government of the society was by a general in perpetuity. The general is chosen by the congregation and cannot decline his election. His residence is to be at Rome, the centre of Catholicity and of the society. He alone is authorized to make rules; he alone can dispense with them. His function is not to preach, but to govern. The general rules through the provincials and other superiors, according to his judgment. He nominates all functionaries for three years and longer, if advisable. The general approves or disapproves of the acts of subordinate officials. He selects those necessary for the administration of the society, the *procureur-general* and the *secretary-general*. He is authorized to withdraw one or more members of the society from their immediate superiors.

No Jesuit may publish any book without having submitted the same to at least three examiners designated by the general. Each provincial shall prepare triennially a catalogue of his province to be sent to the general, indicating the age of each subject, the capacity of his strength, his talents, natural or acquired, and his progress in virtue and the sciences. An active correspondence is advisable between the general and the provincials, in order that the former may know what is passing in distant parts. Local superiors shall send weekly reports of their houses to the provincials, and the latter quarterly reports to the general.

The general should have courage and strength of soul to bear the infirmities of many and to undertake great works for the glory of God. When such appear necessary he shall persevere, even if

⁵ J. C. Joly, Tome I., p. 50.

those in power oppose. Their commands or their menaces should never cause him to swerve from justice and Divine obedience. The general should be endowed with a profound sagacity and great intelligence to understand, theoretically as well as practically, the working of affairs. Science will be necessary for him as well as prudence.

The general only is empowered on his own part, or through those delegated by him, to receive into the houses or the colleges of the society those who may appear suitable subjects for admission. He may receive such on approval, as to the profession, as spiritual coadjutors or as approved scholars. He can also dismiss them forever from the society; but to inflict such punishment on a professed requires the sanction of the Holy See. He may assign postulants and professed such studies as seem advisable. Upon the conclusion of such studies he may send them to any locality for a fixed or undetermined period.

The general has the power to recall such fathers as the Holy See had designated for a mission for an undetermined period. He has also the right to create new provinces. The general has the power to stipulate in the interest of all houses or colleges the conditions of any contract of sale, of purchase, of loan, income bond or other negotiation relating to the funds or estates of such houses or colleges; but he cannot suppress a house already established without the concurrence of the general congregation, nor can he apply the revenues of any establishment to other uses. The general has the control and government of all colleges.

It is the general's duty to see to the observance of the constitutions. He has also the faculty to dispense or vary them according to persons, times, places or other circumstances. He can convoke the society in general. He can also convoke the provincial congregations. He has two votes in the assemblies, and in case of a tie has the casting vote. It is requisite he should know as far as possible the inner conscience of the members under his control, and principally the provincials, as well as all those holding positions in the society.

The power of the general is defined as above by the text itself of the constitutions. Ignatius Loyola was too wise to leave a door open through which scandal might enter. His conscience impelled him to prescribe precautions which in his wisdom he deemed advisable to prevent the abuse of clerical power. These were reduced to six.

The first related to exteriors, clothing, nourishment and the general's expenditures. It was left to the society to augment or diminish these latter expenses according as might be deemed advisable

to the society and the general. It was necessary for the latter to agree to this regulation of the society.

The second regarded the care and health of the general in order that his works and penitences might not exceed his strength.

The third concerned his soul. Placed near him was an admonitor elected by the society, who, with respectful moderation, was empowered to represent to the general whatever might be deemed improper in his person or in his government.

The fourth was to warn the general against ambition. If, for instance, a monarch sought to force the general to accept a dignity, the acceptance of which would lead to the resignation of his function, and if the Holy See consented to or authorized his acceptance, although without pain of sin, the general could not accept such without the consent of the society. The latter would never consent unless the Holy See insisted.

The fifth provided against negligence, old age or a serious malady apparently hopeless of cure; a coadjutor or vicar was to be named to perform his functions.

The sixth was adopted for special occasions, for mortal sin publicly known; for the use of revenue for his personal expenses or for his family; for the alienation of the estate of the society, or for perverse doctrine. In such cases the society, after convincing evidence, could and should depose him and if necessary remove him from the order.

Finally, Ignatius Loyola, in order to create another offset, provided for the appointment of four assistants, who, always present, were charged with the observance of the three first precautions provided against him, who were chosen by those who elected the general.

In the event of the death or of the continued absence of the general, and if the provincials of the society were not unwilling, a substitute might be chosen for the vacancy by a unanimous or by a majority vote.

The assistants, who were taken from each of the large provinces of Portugal, Italy, Spain, of France and of Germany, became the ministers of the general, with authority to become the judges. The general could suspend an assistant.

In case the general should fall under any of the cases designated for his deposition, the assistants of their own accord could assemble a general congregation, which might depose him in due form. If the evil was too urgent, the assistants would have the right of deposition themselves, after securing by letters the suffrages of the provinces.

The authority of the general, as shown by this analysis, was

unlimited so long as his method of governing the society was legitimate and his life was regular. To better understand this important point, Ignatius Loyola had decided that the provincial congregations should assemble every three years; but before any deliberation of such assemblage it should be ascertained whether it was advisable to assemble a general congregation.

The founder wished that the deputies from the provinces immediately after their arrival at Rome should reach an understanding on an affair so delicate independent of the general. In such an assembly secret voting in writing was to be the rule, in order that a secret vote might protect the liberty of the voter.

This is a resumé of the obligations, the charges and the duties which bound each member of the Society of Jesus. Such also were the rights and prerogatives of the general. All were inspired, all possessed of the desire to carry as far as possible self-renunciation and to extend to the utmost limit the principles of authority.

Such an order, appearing in Europe at a period when Protestantism on all sides had declared for the doctrine of free examination, soon found itself opposed by an immensity of dissidents. M. Guizot, who was a Calvinist, wrote: "Personne n'ignore que la principale puissance instituée pour lutter contre la révolution religieuse du seizième siècle a été l'Ordre des Jesuites."⁶

In his "Histoire de la Papauté" Dr. Léopold Ranke, although a Protestant, writes: "Ce qui caractérise évidemment l'institution des Jésuites c'est que, d'un côté, non seulement elle favorise le développement individuel, mais elle l'impose; et de l'autre, elle s'en empare et se l'indentifie. Voila pourquoi tous les rapports entre les membres sont une soumission et une surveillance réciproques. Et cependant ils forment une unité intimement concentrée; une unité parfaite, plein de nerf et d'énergie. Voila pourquoi cette congrégation a donné tant de force au pouvoir monarchique; elle lui est entièrement soumise, a moins qu'il n'abdique lui même ses principes."⁷

The great Council of Trent, convoked by the reigning Pope Paul III., was opened December 13, 1545. Although the Society of Jesus had but recently been established, the Holy See, recognizing its services already rendered and the celebrity of its members, deemed it advisable not to deprive the Church of the light which the members of the society might shed on theological questions in the Council, appointed Father James Laynès and Alphonsus Salmeron as theologians of the Holy See attached to its legates. Father Claud Lejay represented in a similar capacity the Cardinal Otho Truschez, Bishop of Augsburg.

⁶ Histoire générale de la civilisation en Europe, par M. Guizot, p. 363.

⁷ Histoire de la Papauté, par Léopold Ranke. T. I., p. 301.

Both Laynès and Salmeron were comparatively young men—the former 34, the latter 31 years. In selecting them for the important positions in the great Council, where they would come in contact with some of the most eminent theologians of the Universal Church, the general relied upon their prudence as well as upon their ability. But more fully to impress upon their young minds the course to be followed, he wrote the ever memorable instructions, which, coming from the hand of the founder of the Society of Jesus, may be accepted as the true ideal of what should constitute a Jesuit father in the rôle of a theologian.

“When discussing spiritual subjects,” he wrote, “in assemblies for the welfare of souls, the glory of God is accomplished if God is favorable. At the same time, if we do not watch over ourselves, and if God is not with us, we are the losers to the prejudice of those with whom we may be interested. But considering the life to which our vows bind us, it is not permitted us to abstain from such relations; the fruit which results therefrom in the Lord will be more prompt and more certain if we are prepared in advance under a rule of conduct clearly traced. I therefore offer you some suggestions which may be useful in the Lord. I desire ardently, speaking as your general, that in performing this new rôle you keep before you three points:

“First. In the Council, the greatest glory of God and the welfare of the Universal Church.

“Second. Outside the Council, your old rule and method to aid souls; a result which I anticipate principally by your efforts.

“Third. The particular care of your souls, to the end that you may not become careless or indifferent, but to make yourselves on the contrary by assiduity more worthy to perform your duty.

“In the Council be rather slow than prompt to speak; respectful and charitable in your suggestions upon subjects as they come up for consideration; attentive and calm while listening, so that you can understand the purport of the speakers and be more competent to speak yourself or to abstain from discussing the subject. In the discussions which may arise it is necessary to understand both sides of the question, so that it may not appear that you are self-opinionated. Endeavor as far as you are able to have no one retire after your discourse less disposed for peace than he might have been at the beginning.

“If the subjects discussed are of such a nature as may oblige you to speak, express your opinions with modesty and calmness. End always with these words: ‘According to the extent of my information.’ Finally, rest determined on one thing, which is: to treat properly the important questions of divine and human sciences. It

is advisable to remain seated when speaking. Speak calmly. It will not be advisable to arrange the order and the time for discussion to suit your own convenience, but adopt the time of him who would confer with you, to enable him to go where God pleases.

"Outside the Council neglect no efforts to merit good will. Seek, moreover, the occasions to hear confessions and to preach, to give retreats, to instruct youths, to visit the poor in the hospitals, so that the grace of the Holy Ghost may descend with more abundance upon the fathers of the Council influenced by your works of humility and charity.

"In your sermons do not discuss questions mooted by heretics, but always advocate the reform of life and insist strenuously upon the obedience due to the Catholic Church. Speak frequently of the Council and solicit the prayers of the faithful for its favorable results. In hearing confessions remember that what you may say to your penitents will be publicly repeated. For penances impose prayers for the Council. You will visit the hospitals in their turn each week, but at such hours as may be convenient for the sick. You will console their sufferings not only by your words, but also by the bestowal of such little gifts as may be available. In deciding questions your words should be brief and well considered. But to excite piety speak decidedly but in a kindly manner.

"There remains the third consideration, which relates to your self-protection against the dangers to which you may be exposed. While we should never forget our own rule of life, we should remember above all to preserve among ourselves the most perfect union of thought and judgment. But no one should rely upon his own prudence; and as in a few days Claud Lejay, whom the Cardinal of Augsburg sends to the Council as his assistant, will join you, you will arrange for a conference each evening upon the events of the day and as to what should be done on the morrow. In the morning you will consider together on the work before you. Besides, examine your conscience twice each day. You will carry out these points not later than five days after your arrival at Trent."

These instructions of the general were observed to the letter. In the midst of the court of Cardinals, of Princes, of Ambassadors, of prelates and of abbés, where luxury prevailed, where were displayed the richest ornaments and where each nation sought to acquire splendor and renown by its prodigality and by its intrigue, the three Jesuit fathers gave their attention to more important cares. They preached, they heard confessions, they catechized, they begged alms to distribute to the poor and they served in the hospitals. They were poorly clad, for, although theologians of the Holy See and

speaking under her authority, they had not renounced their original humility.

This appearance of poverty at first wounded the prelates of the Council, but after acquiring a knowledge of their mode of life, but especially after hearing them preach, the majority of the prelates were no longer scandalized at the indigence which obscured so much brilliancy. But the legates would not accept the situation; they compelled Fathers Laynès, Salmeron and Lejay to accept new vestments.

On the 3d and 4th of December, 1563, were held the final sessions of this great Council. The Society of Jesus during its last deliberations received this tribute:

"Per hanc tamen Sancta Synodus non intendit aliquid innovare aut prohibere quin religio clericorum Societatis Jesus, juxta pium eorum Institutum a Sancta Sede apostolica approbatum, Domino et ejus Ecclesiae inservire possit."

This declaration was an indorsement of the Society of Jesus. In the meantime the so-called Reformation had ensued. England was lost by the apostasy and lust of "The Defender of the Faith." Her splendid temples, her monasteries and convents with their rich foundations became the spoil of the favorites of Henry VIII. The blood of the Catholic nobility of England flowed upon the scaffold, while the wealth of the titled victims was confiscated. The ill-gotten capital thus acquired from the convents alone, according to the historian, Dr. Lingard, yielded an annual income equivalent to \$7,000,000.

When the recreant monarch turned his attention to Ireland the result was the debauching of some of the hierarchy; but the Irish Bishops as a rule could neither be purchased nor intimidated, while the Irish people remained steadfast in the faith of St. Patrick. **Then ensued in that unfortunate kingdom the most cruel war of persecution against the Irish race known in modern history; but Ireland could not be made a Protestant country.**

The venerable primate of Ireland had sought refuge in Rome. Through him the details of what was passing in that unfortunate country reached Pope Paul III., who decided that the people of Ireland deserved a testimonial of love, of compassion and of encouragement from the Holy See. Those who should carry such should expect to face the dangers resulting from the war waging against the Catholics of Ireland. The Holy Father had recourse to the general of the Jesuits, who designated for the perilous service the Fathers Paschal Brouet and Alphonsus Salmeron. The Holy See invested these fathers with the titles of Nuncios Apostolic. They were carefully instructed by the general and immediately left Rome

to fulfill their mission to the people of Ireland. Their adventures were curious, while it is agreeable to add that they accomplished their mission and returned in safety to Rome.

Scotland was also lost to the Holy See, while her religious foundations and institutions were despoiled and her temples wrecked by Knox and his malignant followers.

It should be noted here that the moral standard of the religious communities wrecked under Henry and Knox was far above reproach. This could not be claimed for the inmates of the religious houses of the Continent when the so-called Reformation started by Luther, Calvin and their satellites disrupted religious peace.

The condition of affairs from a religious standpoint in all the kingdoms of Germany and Italy had become most deplorable, while France could not be excepted. The members of the secular and regular clergy included many who were tainted with immorality, while the conventual communities, from the mother superior to the lesser ranks, were not above reproach.

The leaders of the anti-Catholic crusade had anticipated from the general situation an easy victory, for heresy had already gained a startling foothold. The Holy See appealed to the general of the Jesuits to combat the menacing evil. The available fathers of the Society of Jesus in Europe at the time were marshaled for service. Salmeron, Brouet, Laynès and Lefèvre departed for Germany and were the first members of the society who had been seen in that nation. They were subsequently joined by Bobadilla and Lejay. They were all soon engaged in a fight for the reformation of morals and the establishment of virtue. They were so victorious that much of Germany and nearly all of Austria were saved to the Catholic faith.

This did not prevent, however, many of the rulers of German principalities from following the example set them in England by Henry in apostatizing and in despoiling religious foundations for personal greed.

In the meantime the general had continued his apostolate among the poor of Rome. In his experience in preaching to the poor in the streets of Rome he had found many Jews anxious to become Christians, but who withheld their open avowal of Christianity from the fear of the consequences from the persecution of their patrons. The general determined to found an institution for the shelter of all his catechumens. In this work he was aided by the Holy Father and some of the wealthy Cardinals. The edifice was completed and called the House of the Catechumens. Its records have been kept only since 1617. Between that year and 1842⁸ the names of con-

⁸ The year when M. Joly began the compilation of his great work.

verts, of Jews as well as of all other nationalities, who were converted and who found a temporary refuge in this charitable institution originally founded by the general of the Jesuits numbers 3,614.

The apostolate of the general and of his associate fathers had been continuous among the poorer classes of Rome, as it had been by the latter in other cities where they had labored. It will, perhaps, read strange to some that in the city of the Popes these physicians in their ministrations for the cure of souls and the reform of morals found vice prevalent to a remarkable extent. Women who led dissolute lives were numerous in the poorer quarters of the city. This class, when their attractions had faded, suffered for food. Their condition excited the charitable soul of the general. For a refuge for this class of unfortunates he found means to build and endow the House of St. Mary Magdalen. In order to save young girls in poor circumstances from seduction and a life of shame he had built and endowed the House of St. Catharine.

But there were found also in Rome many abandoned and orphaned children of tender age. These needed care as well as did the unfortunates of more mature years. But they were of both sexes. Two asylums were necessary. To build these, to provide the land, to equip and make ready for occupation these places of refuge required much money. This the general begged, and indeed he had to labor hard and to put the rich families of the city, the Cardinals and even the Holy Father under contribution before he succeeded. These five endowed charities still exist in charge of religious communities. Every year, on the festival of St. Ignatius, a Mass is celebrated at the church of the Jesuits for the soul of the general. The boys of the asylum he had founded assist in serving this Mass.

Pope Paul III. had bestowed the Cardinal's hat on the veteran ecclesiastic, Don Michael de Silva, Ambassador of the King of Portugal to the Holy See, without consultation with the latter monarch, who would not have objected. It was a breach of etiquette and caused serious trouble. The general, after considerable effort, restored peace.

The most distinguished of the fathers composing the immortal ten companions of the general was Francis Xavier, the "Apostle of the Indies," and the subsequently canonized saint, the first member of the Society of Jesus to be thus distinguished by the Church of Rome. To show the manner of men these first fathers were, an outline of the apostolate of this saintly missionary is here given in an abbreviated form.

Francis Xavier was born in Navarre April 7, 1506. At the age of 22 he had already filled the chair of philosophy in the University

of Toulouse, when he was won by Ignatius Loyola to the work of salvation and became a member of the Society of Jesus.

In 1540 King John III. of Portugal solicited the Holy See to assign six missionaries to spread the Gospel among the people of the Eastern nations who had fallen under Portuguese rule. The Holy Father consulted the general, who could give him but two from his band of ten. These were Simon Rodrigues and Francis Xavier.

March 14, 1540, these young priests were presented to the Pope, who accorded them a gracious reception and his benediction. The next day they started for the field of their missionary work; but Father Xavier was so poorly clad that the general forced him to accept his own warmer habit.

Neither of the young fathers possessed a change of clothing. They arrived at Lisbon in June, but their embarkation for the missionary field was delayed until the following spring. They spent the winter in charitable visits to the hospitals and prisons, in the instruction of children and in giving retreats to adults. In time they preached and exhorted in the churches and the cathedral, to the King, his nobles and to the people. The wealth coming as tribute from the recently conquered countries was spread in Portugal, but more generally in Lisbon. Luxurious habits ensued to a great extent.

Rodrigues and Xavier opposed the evil so vigorously that the nobility abandoned such habits for spiritual exercises and led a more Christian life. Moved by this conversion, the King sought to retain at the capital the two missionary fathers, but by the advice of his son as well as of a majority of his ministers, this project was abandoned for a time, but again considered, when the Portuguese Nuncio at Rome asked that the two missionaries who had in so brief a time changed the religious status of Portugal might be allowed to remain in the kingdom. The Holy Father, who could not well refuse and was embarrassed, consulted the general, who proposed as a compromise that Father Rodrigues remain, while Father Xavier should continue his journey to the Indies. This arrangement was sanctioned by the King of Portugal, who solicited and obtained for Father Xavier the appointment of Apostolic Nuncio to the East Indies.

At this period the number of professed Jesuits was only ten, while Francis Xavier became the fourth Ambassador from the Holy See who had been appointed from their ranks.

April 7, 1541, the Portuguese fleet sailed from the Tagus under the command of Don Alfonso de Sousa, Viceroy of the Indies. After a voyage of five months, retarded by tempests and shoals which were poorly indicated on the charts, Father Xavier disem-

barked on the coast of Mozambique in the latter part of August. The extreme heat became insupportable even for the Portuguese. Father Xavier had attracted to his personality Paul de Camerino and Francis Mansilla, who became his assistants in his spiritual work. The missionary was now in the prime of life—35 years of age. He was of medium height, of a sound constitution; his appearance was commanding, inspiring respect and confidence; his forehead was large, his eyes blue and expressive; his gait denoted the gentleman, which completed an *ensemble* of gravity and kindliness which was attractive.

After landing he continued on the African coast the work of regeneration, to which while on the fleet he had given all his attention. He had evangelized the sailors and soldiers at sea, while on the coast he imparted to the Negro inhabitants the consoling knowledge of Jesus Christ.

Mozambique is an island which formerly was controlled by the Saracens and near the territory inhabited by the Caffirs. The sailors and soldiers were in a deplorable state. The sea voyage had exhausted their strength, while the insalubrity of Mozambique completed the destruction of what remained of their vitality. This region had already been fatal to the Portuguese.

Father Xavier and his two assistants had been physicians to the souls of the Portuguese while at sea. They now became nurses to the sick on the insalubrious coast. He preached and exhorted by day, while at night he watched by the couch of the sick and of the dying. He comforted and administered. Sleep for him was not even rest, for he would be near the sick, whose slightest moan or restless complaint quickly reached his ear and brought him to their side to console or administer.

The most robust physique could not hold out against the consequences of such excessive zeal. Nature conquered, and the missionary became a victim to the African fever. But his constitution must have been miraculously strong, for it is said of him that while weak and suffering he allowed himself no relaxation in his attendance on the sick and agonizing.

Finally, after remaining in port six months, the fleet sailed from Mozambique. Camarino and Mansilla remained ashore to care for the sick who had been left on the island, while Father Xavier accompanied Don Alfonso de Suosa. After an agreeable voyage the fleet anchored at Socotra in the Mecca.

According to the Moors who inhabit Mecca it is the island where the Amazons once held sway and where women still rule. The locality is barely habitable. The inhabitants profess a creed part Mahomedan, part Christian; the latter probably a relic of the religion

prevailing in ancient times. Father Xavier did not understand their language, which differed from any in Europe, but he hoped to revive in their souls the love of God, who had died for all mankind. He exhorted them in a figurative way, although he had already received from on high the gift of tongues. The conviction so apparent on his countenance reached their hearts and they crowded around him. Some offered, others presented their children that they might be purified by baptism. All promised to live and to die in the faith he taught, on condition that he remained among them. Moved to tears by their fervor, he would have consented had not the Viceroy reminded him that greater missionary fields than Socotra awaited his apostolate, whose nations offered more zealous and perilous exertion.

Father Xavier yielded, and, tearing himself from the weeping crowds of his first converts, he from the ship's deck extended his blessing upon their heads.

May 6, 1542, the fleet arrived at Goa, near the Ganges, a commercial centre of India, which Albuquerque had conquered from the Saracens in 1510 and which was governed at the time by his relative, a Bishop. Although Father Xavier was Apostolic Legate from the See of Rome, with all the attributions and powers conferred by the Holy See, he preferred the rôle of a missionary submitting to episcopal jurisdiction and receiving protection and aid in his apostolic work.

The Portuguese had established Christianity in India on a solid basis. But the zeal of the conquerors weakened under surrounding temptations. Ambition, avidity and unrestrained passion made them restive under Christian rule. Throwing aside all restraint, virtue was ignored to that extent that to be a Christian became in the eyes of the native synonymous of all that was vile and degraded. Masters submitted their slaves to prostitution, and from this vile traffic acquired colossal fortunes. What was most deplorable was the apparent acquiescing of the priesthood in this immoral traffic.⁹ The moral effect upon the natives was so bad that they returned in crowds to their idolatrous customs.

Such was the situation when the Jesuit father arrived. His first care was to reform the Catholics and lead them to the practice of Christian life. Following the custom of Ignatius Loyola, his first apostolate was in behalf of the children. With bell in hand he traversed the streets of the city calling upon parents to send him their children, and when he had gathered a crowd he led them to the

⁹ Ut sic spoliati et subjecti facilius perprædicatores suadeatur iis fides. De Justis Belli causis. Par Sépulvéda, chanoine de Salamanque et historien-graphiste de Charles Quint. Quoted by Joly, T. I., p. 157.

church. With persuasive methods he taught them to pray and explained the commandments of God. These children became missionaries in their parental homes, while the seed of Christianity thus sown bore abundant fruit. Crowds flocked to hear him preach. He abandoned his classic idiom and addressed the people in a familiar language. His expressive countenance, animated by the sincerity of his soul, his expressions of remorse and penitence touched the hearts of his hearers, who were moved to return to a state of grace. Even the most hardened sinners succumbed. Father Xavier persevered in his apostolic work.

The life of the people changed as if by enchantment. Usury was abandoned. Ill-gotten wealth was restored; the chains of slaves illegally held in bondage were broken; concubinage was suppressed, and the habits of life reformed and replaced by a virtuous standard. The passion for the accumulation of wealth had been the cause of the moral ruin of the Portuguese. This wealth, to a large extent, was placed at the disposition of the missionary, to be devoted to good works. Their wishes were accomplished with the knowledge of the Viceroy, who was made happy by such results.

This reformation had changed the moral aspect of the city of Goa. The Vicar General of India, Michael Vaz, induced Father Xavier to extend his apostolate to the Pechérian coast, between Cape Comorin and Manar Island, whose inhabitants were Christian by baptism only. It was a sterile region, and so hot that no priest had been able to live there, while strangers were generally attracted there by the pearl fisheries. The recital of this spiritual and temporal situation moved the heart of Father Xavier, and he resolved to go to Pecheria. Securing the services as assistants of two young ecclesiastics of Goa who were proficient in the Malabar dialect, exclusively used in that locality, but refusing all the money offered him, but taking such clothing as was essential to that climate, which Don Alphonsus de Souza had provided, he embarked for this new field of missionary work October 17, 1542.

Father Xavier found that no converts to Christianity could be gained unless the preliminary missionary work had been authorized by the reigning Queen. She was a young woman who at the time had been for three days in the labor of child-birth which would apparently have a fatal termination. She received the visit of the missionary, who exhorted her to embrace Christianity and to invoke assistance for relief from the Virgin Mary, and to have confidence in her intercession. The young Queen consented to be baptized, and soon after the ceremony was safely delivered of a son. The whole household submitted and were baptized. This event crowned the missionary's work with success in that locality, and he and his

two assistants resumed their journey toward Tucuran, where were thirty villages. Acquiring a partial knowledge of the dialect of the people, he converted them by the methods he had before made use of. His great success and miraculous progress, however, excited the bitter opposition of the idolaters. They were powerful and lived luxurious lives.

To overcome this class the Brahmans had to be converted. These were the priests who administered to the idolaters and interested in the maintenance of their impostures. He succeeded so well that in Travancor forty-five chapels were erected; but the opposition was very bitter and the converts were made to suffer outrages and deadly persecution.

The territory of Travancor was invaded by the mountain tribes of Bisnacor, whose object was plunder. Their number was considerable. They were opposed by the King of Travancor, whose army would have been defeated with deplorable consequences had not Father Xavier intervened and by a miracle caused the dispersion and flight of the robber hordes. The King thereupon granted full liberty to the missionary to propagate Christianity in his dominions. At Coulon, a commercial centre on the coast of Comorin, the apostle had been preaching to an unbelieving assemblage of residents, who would not be convinced without miraculous demonstration. Calling God to his aid, he said to them: "Yesterday you placed the remains of one of your friends in the tomb. Remove the body and carefully see if it retains any signs of life." It was removed and brought to where he was exhorting. It had already commenced to decay. Kneeling in prayer and meditation, Father Xavier suddenly said to the dead: "By the holy name of the living God, I command you to rise and to live, in proof of the religion which I preach!" The act of canonization of the Jesuit missionary cites this miracle and adduces testimony proving that the dead man was restored to life with health and vigor.

The people of Coulon no longer doubted or hesitated. They became Christian.¹⁰ The fame of the missionary spread to all the nations on the coast, and deputations without number followed, inviting in earnest terms his visit to their respective localities. Persecutions ensued in some localities, with the result of the martyrdom of men, women, children and even infants. But the blood of the martyrs became again the seed of Christianity.

The missionary directed his steps to the city of Cambaye, where at the time the Viceroy resided. The course of the latter being equivocating, he journeyed to Cochin, where he arrived December 15, 1544, and there met Michael Vaz. The policy of the Viceroy was considered. The conclusion was a communication to John III.,

King of Portugal, embodying the disappointing experience of the missionary in his apostolic work and praying for the removal of de Souza. The King removed the latter and appointed Don Juan de Castro in his place, with orders to coöperate with the missionary in his work.

On September 25, 1545, he arrived at Malacca, a city located beyond the Gulf of Bengal, not far from the Island of Sumatra and near the equinoctial line. Its climate is temperate, while all, even to the language of the people, who are the most harmonious in the East, tends to inspire a luxurious existence, which the activity of business affairs had not overcome. This climatic effect influenced the blood and neutralized daily life.

The missionary hoped to open relations with Macazar, but the universal corruption prevailing in Malacca determined him to regenerate this city. Too great an austerity would be out of place. With souls so effeminate gentle methods would succeed, while their pleasures should not be too severely criticized. Confidence could be inspired by an agreeable deportment and a smiling countenance.

The missionary was fine looking, his voice agreeable and his spirit buoyant, while he had already become renowned by the miracles he had wrought. He instructed the children and taught them obedience. He taught young girls modesty and virtue, which in such a climate was not known by name. He induced men to approach to the tribunal of penance. He reformed their habits and taught the people the happiness of family life. After many well occupied weeks he began the study of the local language and composed his instructions.

It was at Malacca that he heard of the arrival at Goa of three Jesuits whom the general had sent to his assistance. These three fathers were Anthony Criminal, John Beira and Nicholas Lancilotti. They were eager for work. He appointed Father Lancilotti professor of Latin in the College of Sainte Foi, at Goa, and sent to Pecheria Fathers Beira and Criminal. January 1, 1546, he embarked for Amboyne, which he reached February 16.

This island contained seven Christian villages, the remainder of the inhabitants being idolaters. His first effort was to revive the faith in Christian families whom he sought out and instructed in the performance of their religious duties. The Portuguese and Spanish fleets rode at anchor in the harbor. A pestilential fever broke out among the Spanish sailors. Terror had paralyzed those who might have assisted the stricken ones. Even the physicians dared not combat the plague.

Lying on the decks of their vessels or stretched along the beach, the sick received no aid or care. Father Xavier heard of the situation. He was giving instructions at the time, but hastened to assist the deserted sick. Seeking the most dangerously afflicted first, devoting himself to the aid of their bodies as well as to the cure of their souls, he attended the dying in their agony, and when their spirits had passed to eternity he buried their mortal remains because money could not tempt others to place them in their graves.

But his humanity did not rest with the performance of this work. Among the natives were some of the sick who needed nourishment or medicine. The Jesuit father begged assistance from door to door, imploring compassion for their brothers in the faith, for men whom the hand of God had stricken down. His words of mercy were so irresistible that he succeeded in organizing assistance and rendered more tolerable the existence of the Spanish fleet.

The plague diminished gradually, and the Spanish fleet was soon enabled to put to sea, while the Jesuit fathers, relieved from their charitable work, resumed their ordinary avocations and visited the environs of Amboyne, carrying the Gospel to Baranura and Rosalao. The missionary then proceeded to the Molucas, a group of small islands in the Eastern Ocean near the equator, and landed at Ternati. The field was ripe and a great reform was effected.

The most important convert was the Queen Neachiti, who became a zealous Christian worker. About 200 miles from Ternati was a group of small islands inhabited by cannibals. The soil was sterile, the climate volcanic and fatal to Europeans. Father Xavier determined to visit this group, although he was advised to the contrary. He wrote the general of his intention, saying: "The country where I am going is dangerous to European life; the people barbarians, and the food available is more or less poisonous. This has deterred other priests heretofore from attempting the conversion of this race. But I am in duty bound to rescue these imperiled souls from eternal death, even at the peril of my existence. My dearest friends have begged me not to undertake this mission; but I feel that I can accomplish it and save many souls."

After several days at sea he disembarked and found the bodies of nine Portuguese left on the beach as a warning of the fate of others who would attempt to land upon the island. The islanders fled to the forest, fearing the vengeance of the whites, but the missionary followed and persuaded them to hear him. He addressed them in the Malay dialect, and in an agreeable manner explained the object of his coming. His apostolate in this locality was a success. He returned to Goa in July, 1547. Other missionaries for the East had in the meantime arrived, who had been sent to Father

Xavier from Rome by the general. These were Fathers Ribera, Nunez and seven others.

About April 15, 1549, Father Xavier wrote the general: "Before sailing for Japan I wish to express to you my satisfaction in undertaking this long journey, which is attended with great perils. If with four vessels two are saved, this result is considered fortunate. Although more hazardous than any journey I have yet undertaken, I have not been deterred. Our Lord impresses me with the belief that the cross when well planted produces abundant fruit."

August 15, 1549, Father Xavier landed on Japanese soil, after four months of perilous navigation, four centuries before Commodore Perry, of the United States navy, had unfurled the Stars and Stripes in a Japanese port and opened to the commercial world this comparatively unknown region. After the missionary had acquired a partial knowledge of the Japanese language he began to preach in public. He visited the bonze priests, with whom he opened amicable relations and who heard with respect his explanation of God and of the immortality of the soul. They could not believe that one who had traveled so great a distance from their country could deceive them; but the words of the missionary went no farther than their ears; their hearts were inaccessible.

However, two bonze priests could not resist his eloquence. They avowed themselves Christians. Their example was followed by multitudes, who surrounded the missionary, asking for baptism. Curiosity had moved the bonzes to be friendly to the missionary, but self-interest caused them to persecute him. They asserted he did not practice their austerities. Thenceforward he abstained from all food derived from animal life.

Miracles were necessary to convince such skeptical communities. These prodigies were not wanting. Father Xavier restored the sick to health and the dead to life! Before such miracles active opposition ceased, and the first city in which the missionary had resided in Japan was won to Christianity! With Fathers Come, de Torrez and Fernandez he left this city, bearing upon his shoulders his vestments and the sacred vessels of the Mass. These composed his entire possessions, while his companions were no richer. The missionaries arrived at Firando, in whose harbor were anchored several Portuguese vessels. These ships saluted the man of God. With the roar of cannon and the display of flags the sailors cried out with joy. He was conducted with such favorable manifestations to the King's palace.

His poor appearance was not in his favor, but on learning that this humble-looking priest was all powerful with the King of Por-

tugal, whose ships dotted the Japanese seas, the people were filled with admiration.

Father Xavier asked for power to proclaim the law of God in the kingdom, which was accorded him. That same day he commenced his missionary work. His exhortations were so effectual that within a month Christianity triumphed over vice. This conquest of the missionary had for him been too easily won. His soul desired more ardent combat. Father Torrez was left at Firando to confirm the people in the faith, while, on October 27, the missionary directed his steps to Meaco, at the time the capital of Japan.

The rich city of Amanguchi was on his route. It was full of strangers and traders, attracted by pleasure and commerce; but the city was a Sodom, with the luxury of Babylon. Fathers Xavier and Fernandez preached the Gospel in the streets and condemned the voluptuous life of the people, but without result, and they continued on their way to Meaco.

The cold was intense and the ground covered with snow. The missionaries were thinly clad and barefooted, while their only food was parched rice. The Portuguese merchants made up a purse of 1,000 crowns and presented it to them, but this money was distributed to needy converts. Not a single crown was used by the missionaries.

After two months of painful travel the missionaries reached Meaco, but on account of political disturbances no missionary work was possible in this city, and they retraced their steps to Firando. By this time Father Xavier's clothing had become so dilapidated that he was forced to accept a more decent apparel from the charitable. Meantime Father Antoine Criminal had met a violent death at Pécherie, and thus became the first martyr of the Society of Jesus.¹¹

The Christian converts in the Islands of More, the Moluccas, Méliapor, Bazain and Coulon numbered more than 500,000 souls. Before leaving Goa Father Xavier organized the missions under one head. Father Barzée was made superior general of all the missions in the new world; Father Nunez was stationed at Bazain, Father Lopez at Méliapor, Father Roderigues at Cochin and Father Meridez at Pécherie. Father Xavier assumed the title of Provincial of India and of all the kingdoms of the East under the authority of the Holy See, as Nuncio Apostolic. He then commenced his preparations for his mission to China, which in its progress encountered vexatious obstacles. He finally arrived on Chinese territory, but so weakened was he by the voyage that he expired December 2, 1552.¹²

¹¹ J. C. Joly, Tome i., p. 185.

¹² J. C. Joly, Tome i., p. 190.

In all the kingdoms which Father Xavier had won to Christianity the news of his untimely death was learned with the most profound sorrow. The body of the venerable missionary was buried in quicklime, in order that the flesh might be consumed. The remains were sent to Goa, where they arrived March 16, 1554. They were found to be in a perfect condition, fresh and life-like. In 1612 Claud Aquaviva, general of the Society of Jesus, directed that the right arm of the missionary, with which he had performed so many miracles, be detached from the body and sent to Rome. In this process the body was found in a natural condition, exhaling an agreeable odor. Alban Butler, in his "Lives of the Saints," states: "In 1744 the Archbishop of Goa, accompanied by the Marquis de Castel-Nuova, Viceroy of the Indies, by order of John IV., King of Portugal, visited the relics of St. Francis Xavier. He found the body perfectly preserved, no unpleasant odor evident—the face, the hands, the chest and the feet showing no trace of corruption."¹³

Historians of all modern nations offer their tribute to the life and works of St. Francis Xavier. In his Bull dated August 6, 1623, Pope Urban VIII. placed among the number of the saints this Jesuit, as God had the patriarch Abraham, father of nations. Xavier, recites the Bull, had seen his children in Jesus Christ so multiply as to exceed the stars of heaven and the sands of the sea. His apostolate was that of a divine vocation, the gift of languages, the gift of prophecy, the gift of miracles. The Church appreciating, therefore, presents to the veneration of the faithful his merits, less as a model for imitation, but more as a vessel of election to be glorified.

In the meantime the Roman Catholic Church in Europe had been menaced with disintegration. In Italy, in Germany, North and South; in Austria, with her mixed races; in Spain also; in the northern maritime kingdoms as well as in France demoralization among the Catholic communities had resulted from the scandals which had disgraced the priesthood as well as the members of the religious orders and communities of men and of women. The rulers of some German kingdoms and principalities, following the example of Henry VIII., had laid sacrilegious hands on religious foundations and had become besides adherents of heretical leaders. It was a sad situation for the Holy Father to contemplate. He had recourse to the general of the Society of Jesus. The crisis was momentous, the future ominous with peril for the Church.

¹³ Every twenty years the chasuble enshrouding the remains of the saint is removed. The Queen of Portugal embroiders the new vestment, while the one removed is cut into pieces which are distributed as relics. Note of M. Perrin, Tome i., p. 191.

The general acted with promptitude. Of his ten companions six were providentially available. The Fathers Brouet, Laynès, Lejay, Lefèvre and Salmeron were first sent to Germany and were soon followed by Father Bobadilla. It became a contest for the reform of life and the establishment of virtue. The Jesuit fathers won the battle.

Much of Germany and all of Austria were recovered from Lutherism, while in Italy, Spain and France moral reforms succeeded where irregularities and scandals in certain quarters had formerly prevailed. In the low countries and in the maritime kingdoms and principalities of the north Calvinism and heresy still remained.

July 31, 1556, Ignatius Loyola, founder and first general of the Society of Jesus, was called to his eternal reward, aged 65 years. At the time of his death the number of Jesuit fathers in the world exceeded 1,000, comprising nine provinces in Europe and one each in South America, the Indies and Ethiopia. There were only thirty-five professed fathers in the institute, which controlled over 100 colleges, while it had existed only sixteen years. Father Laynès, was appointed vicar of the society pending the meeting of the conclave, which subsequently elected him second general of the Society of Jesus.

Of the immortal ten companions who comprised, with the general, the society as authorized by Pope Paul III., there survived at the time of their leader's death Fathers Laynès, Codure, Lefèvre and Bobadilla.

Subsequently Ignatius Loyola was canonized, as was also the third general, Francis Borgia. Other members of the order were subsequently included among the saints of God.

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AN OLD MONARCHY AND A YOUNG REPUBLIC.

BEFORE Bonaparte, as First Consul, fought the battle of the Pyramids, he endeavored to rouse the enthusiasm of his troops by pointing to those hoary memorials, standing like petrified giants on the dim limits of the field to watch the great struggle of modern arms, as they had watched countless other struggles in the far-stretching past. "Frenchmen," he said, "behold, the eyes of forty centuries look down on you to-day!" It is not easy to see what relevancy appeared to the conqueror's mind between the Egypt of the past and the France of his day. There

was not much in the shape of loot for his armies to expect by a victory at the Pyramids; Cheops and Ghizeh were stolidly immovable. Still, apart from loot, the French soldier of that epoch was largely a creature of sentiment, and Napoleon knew what effect a ringing manifesto, no matter how hollow the ring, often had on his legions when faint and weary from marching and fighting. The conqueror has gone the way of all conquerors, but the gray Pyramids and the boundless sands are still there, seemingly to remain until the end of time. Egypt is still the mystery, the impenetrable borderland between the twilight of history and the definite system out of which the civilizations of the Orient and the Mediterranean arose.

Old as the Pyramids are, there is something almost stupefying in the fact that beyond their horizon line there exists to-day a monarchy and an empire that go back to the period anterior to the building of those mighty monuments and possessing within their own limits other monuments, different in character, but more wonderful in many respects than those primitive efforts to realize the perdurable in architecture. Abyssinia is in all probability the cradle of the races of Egyptian rulers as well as those who carried to Egypt the principles of early science in building. Is it not startling to think that to-day the young American Republic is touching hands with the dynastic line which preceded even the Shepherd Kings, long before the Pyramids were begun? Such indeed is the fact. Hoary antiquity, stretching back to the era of Tubal Cain, nods its blanched locks to the greeting of the lusty race who have made the art of Tubal Cain the talisman to transform and recreate the old world and its civilizations and systems. We seem to be walking in a dream when we behold the monarch Menelik, descendant of King Solomon, exchanging greetings and presents across the ocean. We bridge, by that fact, an ocean of time, and may be solving, in action, the riddle of the Sphinx.

Long ago the general name Ethiopia was applied to the country south of Egypt which now embraces Nubia and Abyssinia as well as the parent country. Ethiopia is inextricably interwoven in the early history and the earlier tradition of Egypt. Diodorus spoke of the people of Ethiopia as the first created of men, and the Egyptians as a colony drawn out of Ethiopia by Osiris, or Jupiter Ammon, "the Son of Morning," the founder of Thebes. But Homer, Herodotus and Strabo declared that the Ethiopians came from Asia into Africa, and later authorities have traced their source to a region between the Euphrates and the Tigris, called Cush or Susiana; and the Ethiopian language is found to be allied to the tongues of the people dwelling around the same region—the He-

brew, the Arabic, the Syrian, the Chaldaic, the Samaritan and the Persian, while there appeared no similarity between it and the language of the ancient Egyptians—a point elucidated to some extent in portion of the Book of Genesis and also of the Psalms. Asiatic Ethiopia was regarded by the oldest chroniclers as a region whence the seeds of future civilization were borne abroad by the Noachic colonists. Both the Mosaic Genesis and the Genesis of Hermes, as transcribed by Manetho, high priest of Heliopolis, who transcribed the sacred writings of his country into Greek, in the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus, agree in many respects as to the derivation of the Ethiopians.

One fact stands out prominently in both the ancient writings and the ancient pictures painted on the great Egyptian temples. It is this: the Ethiopians were black as to skin. When we put into relation with this fact their ability as a colonizing and a mercantile race, and also as a governing and conquering race, the syllogism is plain. Black furnishes no natural obstacle to brain development; the color of skin is accidental. The old Greek writers did not hesitate to accord to the early Ethiopians the fullest meed of praise for their proficiency in knowledge and their refinement of manners. Homer tells us of the favor with which they were regarded by Olympus, and how the ruler of that region, attended by all the other gods, used to visit Ethiopia to feast along with the "blameless race."

The commercial tendencies of the Ethiopians are indicated by sundry passages in Holy Writ. In Isaias the prophet is found foretelling of Judea how "the labor of Egypt and merchandize of Ethiopia and of the Sabeans, men of stature, shall come over unto thee, and they shall be thine."

Just now the interest in this branch of the human race is centred upon Abyssinia—only one portion of the great but indefinite whole long known as Ethiopia. Abyssinia is once more, to some extent, within the wide bounds of the Catholic Church, and its history and conditions form a subject of no small curiosity to the Catholic reader. There appears to be a distinction of marked character between the Abyssinians and the Ethiopians. Their historians do not claim to be able to fix the time when their ancestors formed a settlement on the western shore of the Arabian Gulf, yet all traditions point to the conclusion that the race is not aboriginal, as the Ethiopians claim to be—or at least of such remote antiquity as to have their beginnings lost in the mist of ages. Their monarchical line, stretching back in certain succession to the period of Solomon, has a legendary portion going further by many centuries, till, like other Oriental chronologies, it reaches the vague realm of the gods

or demi-gods. The existence of this ancient monarchy is attested by the clear evidence of the Old Testament. Balkiss, as the Turks name that "Queen of Sheba" who forgot queenly etiquette that she might gratify her curiosity regarding the great personality of the wise Hebrew King, is described as having been the twenty-second queen of her line. If this be true, then the royal house of Abyssinia is indeed by far the oldest one in all the world.

The results of the Queen's visit to Solomon were momentous. It gave a Jewish impress to Abyssinian institutions—for the Queen seems to have made a study of the Jewish laws and polity—and it gave a Jewish strain to the royal line, for Balkiss bore a son to Solomon, and his name was Menelik—the same as the present monarch's. The Abyssinian chronologies give a list of seventeen sovereigns from the Queen's reign down to the Christian era. On the royal standard of Abyssinia is the figure of the lion of Judah, symbolical of the ancient connection between the two monarchies. It was in the eighth year of the reign of Zabaesi Bazen that our Saviour was born. At that period the kingdom had attained to a height of importance beyond any other realm of the Red Sea shores. Axum was the capital city—a place whose ruins denote not only an antiquity greater than many of the great cities of Egypt, but an architectural genius as bold and ambitious as that which planned the mighty temples of Thebes and Karnak. The city gave its name to the whole people—Axumites and Abyssinians were the respective variants of the stem word.

A monument discovered amidst the ruins of Axum gives the names of the kings or emperors of Abyssinia who ruled shortly after the period when Christianity first made its appearance there and knocked at its gates. They were two—Aizana and Saizana—and they held the sceptre jointly. The exact year of its appearance is not to be determined, but we may conjecture it to be about 320 A. D. from the fact that Frumentius was consecrated Bishop by St. Athanasius, at Alexandria, and immediately returned to Abyssinia to renew his labors there in his new character. He, together with his brother, Ædisius, both natives of Tyre, in Syria, had been spreading the knowledge of the Gospel for some years previously, and there is reason to believe that it was received with a welcome by the court and the people, since the education of the royal children was intrusted to Frumentius, and on the death of the King, the administration of the government also. It would appear that there were some Christians there already, when the brothers arrived at Axum. They were merchants from Rome, and these helped the brothers effectively in the diffusion of Christian truth. Ædisius after a while returned to his native country, but his brother deter-

mined to remain in Ethiopia to continue the work he had so successfully begun. The two brothers Aizana and Saizana ruled the country jointly when the Emperor Constantius sent an embassy to the court with the object of gaining its adhesion to the principles of Arianism. This was in the year 356 A. D. Frumentius successfully opposed this bold effort, and would appear to have remained at his post until death came to relieve him. The Monophysite heresy, after his time, was more successful in winning adherents in Abyssinia; and in the adjoining kingdom, Nubia, it was a Monophysite priest, named Julian, who introduced Christianity into the country in this corrupted form. Monophysitism soon spread widely over the Eastern African Church, and it was many centuries before it was eradicated. It took root in Egypt, Nubia and Abyssinia, and the Church which sprang out of the heresy became generally known as the Coptic Church. As Judaism had long been planted to a considerable extent in Abyssinia, owing to the large number of Jewish merchants resident in the ports and a thriving commercial intercourse with Judea, the Christianity introduced into the empire became tinged more or less with the Hebrew cult and the ritual assumed something of the Jewish forms. Still the Abyssinians, in large part, clung to the purer faith taught them by Frumentius (or Abba Salama, as they styled their Tyrian apostle), and when a still more formidable foe to Christianity, in the shape of Mahometanism, appeared on the stage, they stood as an impregnable fortress against its southward spread in Africa.

It was not long after Mahomet emerged as a prophet until the whole region from Egypt to the Congo became subject to his spiritual authority. His emissaries penetrated into Abyssinia, but there they met with no welcome. When persuasion failed, the sword was resorted to, but this availed no more than the artful tongue. It was galling to the Prophet and his zealous aides to find a country distant not more than two hundred miles from Mecca scorning his advances and defying his power. War was henceforth to be the portion of Abyssinia. The conquest of the country was again and again attempted by the Sheriffes across the sea, and its borders were kept in an incessant state of unrest and security, owing to the diligence of the Moslem chiefs in stirring up insurrections among the petty chiefs and the lavish distribution of money and weapons. But Mahometanism struck no roots in the Abyssinian soil.

An unaccountable spell of silence takes place in history from this period down to the fifteenth century, with regard to the fortunes of both Abyssinia and Ethiopia. These countries would appear to have dropped out of the world's recollection for a space of many

centuries. The newly-born spirit of maritime discovery was the means of restoring the diseased memory of mankind and geography, though not of having the historical hiatus filled in—for this has never been done. For a considerable period vague rumors of the existence of a magnificent African kingdom, with a monarch called Prester (or Presbyter) John, had stirred the curiosity of European dreamers. Travelers who had met the caravans which traded between the Nile delta and its head waters brought these reports, and, as usual at that time, embellished them with the glowing product of their fancy. Visions of fabulous wealth and Solomonic splendor were conjured up, in connection with the mysterious long-lost country, and it was not long ere the desire to discover and locate it took tangible form. The adventurous Portuguese were the first Europeans who attempted this fascinating task. In the reign of Henry the Navigator the hope of finding a route to the East by doubling the Cape of Good Hope inspired several bold mariners to seek fame and wealth by such an achievement, and among these two in especial deserve mention as the pioneers of modern discovery—Covilham and De Payva. In the year 1487 they got a commission, the first to find out Abyssinia, and the second to reach the shores of India by the new route. Covilham failed in his task, but almost on the verge of success, for he died on the Red Sea, not far from the Abyssinian coast; but De Payva, more fortunate, struck land at Calicut and Goa, on the coast of Malabar, and from thence crossed over to Eastern Africa. He landed at Sofala, where he got considerable information concerning the mysterious Prester John and his nebulous kingdom. The name Prester John is explained by the Portuguese historian Ludolphi as a form of the Abyssinian Chanus, meaning the prince of the adorers, i. e., Christians, while Scaliger, he says, insisted that it was a corruption of the word Tristegiani, i. e., an Apostle, or the Apostle. The most amazing stories were set afloat concerning this potentate—how his riches were comparable only with his preternatural gifts, amongst which was that of extraordinary longevity. For several centuries, it was boldly stated, he had reigned over the Abyssinian kingdom, undisturbed by foreign invader or domestic treason, and his rule was beneficent and prosperous beyond that of any other monarch. It was the good fortune of De Payva to be able to settle all doubts and dissipate all fables regarding this mystic personage and his realm. He determined to brave all the risks and terrors of desert and mountain, bedouin and banditti, and endeavor to see this mysterious being with his own eyes. His success was complete. After enduring incredible hardships, De Payva reached the royal residence, which was then in the country called Shoa (for the Abys-

sinians have a habit of changing the capital city from time to time, as circumstances seem to demand). He found that the King's name was not John, but Isander, or Alexander; his reception was most cordial, and so well did he like the treatment he received from the Abyssinian court and people that he was easily persuaded to take up his residence in the country, where he remained all the rest of his life.

It was not without some ground that the idea of patriarchal longevity with regard to this monarch had been disseminated. Many centuries before his name was heard of the Roman historians and geographers had mentioned a race of Ethiopians, the Macrobian, who lived to a great age. Their country was reputed to be enormously wealthy in gold, and this fact induced Cambyses, King of Persia, to cast longing eyes upon it. Herodotus, the historian, tells of the outcome of his ambition. Cambyses, when he had conquered all the land of Egypt, chose as ambassadors to the Macrobian men of the Ichthyophagi, or Fish-eaters, of Elephantiné, who understood the Ethiopian language, and gave them a number of costly presents for the King of Macrobia. This monarch looked askance at the suspicious objects, rich robes, perfumes, bracelets and necklaces of gold and jewels. The latter he took to be a species of fetters. There was also some rich wine. This he kept, but returned all the others to the envoys. He asked how long the Persians lived and what sort of food they ate. He was informed that they lived chiefly on bread made from corn, and that the limit of life in Persia was eighty years. Then the monarch said that he did not wonder that they did not live to a greater age, considering the rubbishy food on which they subsisted. His people usually lived to a hundred years, he said, and he attributed their superiority in vitality and strength to the diet of boiled flesh and milk which they used. He sent a bow to Cambyses, with the message that when he could bend it as easily as any of his Macrobian could, he might then cherish the hope of conquering their country.

Cambyses, far from being struck with the point of this message, became furious with rage and did as foolish a thing as Xerxes is said to have done when he ordered the sea to be lashed as a criminal for acting rudely to his envoys. He set out immediately with his mighty army to punish those insolent Macrobian, without any sufficient commissariat, or without taking into account the sandy deserts that lay between him and the objects of his wrath. Before he had marched a fifth part of the route the provisions were all consumed. Then the famishing soldiers killed the beasts of burden and ate them. Then they turned to the soil, digging up such wild roots and shrubs as were edible. But when they arrived at the

skirts of the desert, and perceived that even this poor substitute for food was no longer available, their desperate plight at once plunged them into a frenzy of ferocious terror, and with wolfish eyes each man gazed upon his fellow. They were about to begin an orgie of cannibalism when Cambyses, aroused from his dream of folly, gave the order to turn back toward Thebes, the last city at which the army had halted on the outward march. The retreat was almost as disastrous a one as that of Napoleon's hosts from Moscow.

Herodotus ascribed the longevity of these Ethiopians to a cause which points to the antiquity and universality of the belief in a "fountain of youth"—the same mirage that lured Ponce de Leon to his ruin on this continent. The messengers of Cambyses, on expressing astonishment at the great age attained by the Macrobian, were led to a spot where lay a fountain in which they were invited to bathe. On emerging they found their skin shining wonderfully, and there exuded from it a perfume as of violets. Herodotus mentions many other remarkable aspects of ancient Ethiopian life. The water of the "fountain of youth," he says, for instance, was so light in body that no wood, or object lighter than wood, would float on the surface, but sink to the bottom of the fountain. If they used this water for drink in their daily life, he thought, it must have the effect of prolonging their lives considerably. When the Ethiopians died their bodies were embalmed and covered with plaster, somewhat as mummies are in Egypt, and the likeness of the deceased was painted over the face-covering. The body was then deposited in a tomb or sarcophagus made of glass or crystal, and taken home by the next of kin, to be kept for a year and honored with sacrifices. Whether the custom of making mummies originated with the Ethiopians, or whether the Egyptians borrowed it from a still earlier people, is a point that may never be cleared up. The similarity of the sepulchral customs between these two nations is, however, too striking a circumstance to be overlooked. Anti-quarians who have studied the ruins of the old cities of Saba, Meroë and Axum find indications, in the architectural forms, of a gradual movement from the upper waters of the Nile toward the Delta, and the prevalence of the pyramid, the obelisk and the great pillar temple all along the route would go to show that it was from the side of Ethiopia that the majestic conception in architecture had its rise. Ethiopia is, indeed, regarded by several distinguished archæologists as the parent of ancient Egyptian art and civilization.

But to return to Abyssinia and the finding of "Prester John." Portugal did not for some time realize any substantial benefit from the discovery of the long lost monarchy. But De Payva's daring was destined to bear fruit in time. In the year 1510 the sovereign

of the country was Queen Helena, and she, being menaced by the Turks, sent an Armenian merchant named Matthew as her ambassador to Portugal. He, however, did not reach Lisbon until three years later, as he had been captured on the way and imprisoned in India. The Portuguese monarch received him with welcome, and he was sent back with a fleet, going by way of India. Many disasters happened to the ships on the way, so that none of them ever reached an Abyssinian port. Later on, however, an expedition was fitted out at Goa and set sail for Masuah, or Massowah as it is now called, on the 13th of February, 1520. There it was received by a vassal of the Abyssinian monarch, the Baharnagash, who undertook to lead it on to the camp of the King—he having at that time no fixed capital, because of his continual wars with rebel chiefs. The embassy encountered many grievous mishaps en route, and the journey through the wild mountain gorges of Tigré, amid savage storms and roaring torrents, and the constant terror of wild beasts, filled the members of the party with the most dreadful apprehensions at times. With the party was a friar named Alvarez, who wrote a graphic description of the terrible journey.

This momentous expedition, which was destined to have as important a bearing on the religious affairs of Abyssinia as that of the Queen of Sheba to King Solomon, was the first attempt of Europe to make friends in that part of Africa. At its head was a Portuguese military officer, Lope Sequeira, and his chief aide was a gentleman named Rodrigo de Lima. Francisco Alvarez, the friar above referred to, accompanied the mission as chronicler as well as negotiator of the religious business of the embassy.

The sojourn of the mission in Abyssinia was a long one. It lasted five years. At first the monarch received its members coldly and with considerable suspicion, but soon altered his demeanor when he had satisfied himself that the motives of the members were genuinely friendly. Although generically called Prester John, the King's name was David—the third of that name who had ruled in Abyssinia. He received the embassy in great barbaric state, wearing a dress of cloth of gold and carrying in his hand a large silver cross. At that time he was only twenty-three years old, and Friar Alvarez described his complexion as that of ruddy apples.

Young as he was, "Prester John" was by no means a contemptible theologian, as Father Alvarez found. He was well read in the decrees of the various Councils of the Church, and disputed over the question of the marriage of priests and the supremacy of the Roman See with all the skill of a practised doctor of divinity. The monarch, after a little time, took the embassy to the famous old monastery of Machan Celacen, where they witnessed the ceremonies

of baptism and ordination carried out on a great scale—as many as 2,356 persons being admitted to the priesthood. The ambassadors noted with astonishment that many of those so ordained were children, and Father Alvarez remonstrated with the Abuna, as the chief prelate is styled, on so gross a violation of the ecclesiastical law and usage.

The Monophysite heresy had, unfortunately, found too many adherents in Abyssinia, notwithstanding the stout resistance of the Christians there to the formidable Arian revolt. The heresy came in by way of the Egyptian Coptic Church. Its propagation was mainly due to the pernicious activity of the licentious Theodora, consort of the Emperor Justinian, who was himself opposed to the doctrines of the sect. An adherent of Eutyches, the founder of the Monophysite school, Timotheus Æluros (“the cat”), took possession of the Alexandrian patriarchate, after his followers had murdered the orthodox bishop, Proterius. He was succeeded by two other Monophysites—Peter Mongus (the stammerer) and John Nikeota. Thus the heresy became rooted in the African Christian States, and superadded to its discords and inconsistencies were the practices and beliefs that had been incorporated with the aboriginal heathen cult, by reason of the connection with Judea—amongst these being the practice of circumcision.

For five years the embassy remained in Abyssinia, and this interval was turned to such good account by Father Alvarez that the Negus and many of his nobles and their followers became converted to the true faith. The dignity of Abuna was bestowed upon Father Bermudez, a Portuguese priest who had been long resident in the country. Bearing presents and a letter to the King of Portugal, the embassy at length took its departure. The friendship thus begun with Portugal was destined to bear good fruit, though not immediately, for Bermudez, who was not very judicious, apparently, soon quarreled with the Emperor and was obliged to leave the country, and the ground gained by the embassy in the matter of conversion was for the time lost, since, when the next envoy, Father Oviedo, came on the scene some years later, he found great difficulty in getting the monarch to listen to him on the subject of getting his people back into the fold. The Abyssinian theologians who opposed the Catholic claims Oviedo, however, challenged to an open discussion before the Emperor. They took up the gauntlet, and, after a full discussion of every disputed point, retired defeated. The triumphant dialectician thereupon claimed the whole people as children of the true Church, but his proceedings were not characterized by that prudence which the experience of his predecessor should have dictated. He in turn was banished, and for many years

there was no renewal of the attempt to maintain the connection between Portugal and Abyssinia through the medium of the Church.

In 1589 there went out from Lisbon a very superior man, Father Peter Paez, and he appears to have fared much better than his predecessors. His judicious methods were so successful that he effected the conversion of the monarch and his court, and procured the establishment of Catholicity as the national religion. Father Paez appears to have been a priest possessed of those great gifts which made the clergy of France and Spain, about that age, the foremost in exploration of unknown regions and the most scientific men in all the world. He introduced many useful arts into Abyssinia, and he spent much time in traveling the country making observations and collecting valuable data. He is believed to have preceded Bruce in tracing the mysterious river Nile to its long-hidden source. Father Paez left a record of his work in manuscript. It is referred to by two historians of Ethiopia, Tellez and Kircher, but it does not appear to have ever been put into type. There is no record of his ultimate fate. It is likely that he perished, unknown to the world, in some of the wild solitudes amid which he carried out his search for the sources of the enigmatic river Nile.

Father Paez was more successful than any of his predecessors in infusing some principle of stability into the religious reform he had effected in Abyssinia. Catholicism was so firmly established, at least at the court, that in the year 1620, which must have been considerably after his death, the reigning monarch, Socimos, or Segued, despatched a mission to Goa to secure a fresh supply of priests. Only one, however, responded. He was Father Jerome Lobo. His journey was beset with so many mishaps and vicissitudes, arising from the Turks being then masters of the Red Sea, that it was several years before he reached his destination. Portions of the country which he traversed were entirely inimical to Catholicism, partly because it was supported by the royal power, partly because of the gross superstition of the natives and partly because the great bulk of the lower classes was fanatically attached to the older heretical form of Christianity in which so many generations of Abyssinians and Ethiopians had lived and died. Moreover, the landing of Father Lobo had synchronized with the appearance of that dreaded scourge the locust army, and in the distorted minds of the natives this circumstance possessed a sinister meaning; missionary and plague became identified as twin evil agencies, and in many places the people fled outright at his approach, in the abject terror of fetish fear. The locust plague proved fatal to thousands: a great famine ensued; and this misfortune appears to have decided

the fate of Father Lobo's enterprise, for he disappears with its advent from the stage; the old King sank into a state of dotage, and his eldest son, who succeeded, turned against the Catholics and began a furious persecution, with the result that the leading families were driven out or sold as slaves to the Pasha of Suakin, a fanatical and bloodthirsty son of Islam.

For twenty years there was no further attempt to keep Abyssinia in touch with the outside world. At the end of that interval Signor Baratti, an Italian traveler, penetrated the isolated land, only to find the anti-Catholic spirit still rampant and triumphant, and a special native creed drawn up against Catholicism.

In 1698 Dr. Poncet, a French practitioner who had lived long in Cairo, undertook a journey into Abyssinia, at the invitation of the Negus, who had been suffering for some time from a serious malady. He was the first traveler to give to Europe an idea of the real extent and character of the vast Desert of Sahara, for it was with the caravan from Sennaar, whose route lies across that terrible wild, that he traveled down from Egypt. After a fearful journey, through wastes devoid of vegetation and dangerous at every step from the constantly moving sands and scorching simooms, he arrived at the city of Gondar, which was at that time the fixed residence of the Negus. He was successful in his treatment of the royal patient, and was sent home by a better route than that which had brought him to Gondar—namely, by way of Tigré and Masuah, or Massowah. The doctor's itinerary was the first book which revealed to Western minds the awful perils of travel in Northeastern Africa.

A century elapsed ere the outside world had any more tidings of Abyssinia and its people. In 1769 James Bruce, a countryman of the celebrated explorer Mungo Park, penetrated to Dongar, coming by way of the high mountain range which forms the natural barrier between the coast and the interior of the country. The configuration of the hills he found in some places quite startling; like pyramids standing on apex he describes them. The narrow path often wound along the face of a frightful precipice thousands of feet deep. Gondar he found to be built in the cool shelter of a dense grove. He was fortunate in having some medical skill, as he was thus enabled to save the life of Ayto Confu, son of the Queen, Ozoro Esther, who was described as the most beautiful woman in Abyssinia. Were it not that her portrait, which appears in a work by the Rev. Michael Russell, D. D., bears out the description somewhat, one might well question the Abyssinian ideal of feminine loveliness; the lady looks quite prepossessing in a costume of Oriental richness. Were it not for this adventitious circumstance Mr. Bruce's stay in

the country might not have been pleasant, since the people, for some reason, thought him to be a Catholic—and at that period the hostility toward Catholics and their belief was acute. The favor with which Mr. Bruce was regarded by the Queen he found immensely valuable. It procured him access to monasteries and churches and enabled him to acquire a large store of MSS., Gospels and hagiology, valuable for their antiquity as well as authenticity. These parchments contained much interesting historical matter relating to the kingdom, the canons of the Church and other important compilations.

Although, as above stated, a century had elapsed since the external world had any tidings from Abyssinia, Mr. Bruce made the discovery, while sojourning there that another attempt to keep up the connection with the See of Rome had been made in that apparent interregnum. He learned that in the year 1751 a mission had arrived and was received with favor by the Negus, Yasous II., the Queen-mother, and the principal nobility. It was composed of three Franciscan priests—Fathers Remidio and Martino, Bohemians, and Father Antonio, from Aleppo. Bruce did not make much mention of this mission, but one remark of his—that his great friend, Ayto Aylo, “had been converted by Father Antonio, a Franciscan, in 1755”—put other investigators on the *qui vive*. Lord Valentia, a very distinguished writer and traveler, was one of these. He was successful in procuring a MS. chronicle of the mission, written in Italian by Father Remidio. The writer tells how the missionaries were joyfully received by the Negus, who told them that from his childhood it had been his wish to have teachers like them in his kingdom. He asked them many curious questions on doctrine and ecclesiastical history, about affairs in Europe, and so forth; and was so pleased with the tenor of the answers he received that he rose from his throne and said: “This house shall be your habitation.”

These favorable auspices were, however, as illusory as the mirages which delude the eyes of travelers in the deserts which border the country. As soon as the people at large heard of the transaction they rose up in rebellion against the Negus, and the monarch, in order to secure his own safety, miserably complied with their mandate to banish the newcomers. They were driven from the palace and conducted across the borders of the kingdom; and history is silent regarding their further procedure.

During his sojourn in Abyssinia Mr. Bruce availed himself extensively of his opportunities to study the literature as well as the religion and social institutions of Abyssinia. Inasmuch as the people, like many others in the Orient, remain in much the same condi-

tion as their forefathers, for many generations before, in regard to fundamental principles and customs, it is extremely probable that what this traveler found existing in his time has continued with little modification almost down to our own time. Averse as the Abyssinians have been in the past to the influx of Catholic missionaries, they have shown themselves still more hostile and violent toward overtures from Protestant sects. A few of these, English and American, from time to time penetrated into the interior, but their reception was more than cool.

Since that time until the visit of the American mission, under Mr. Skinner the Abyssinians were nearly forgotten by people of the Anglo-Saxon race. A few Frenchmen had, however, visited the country and were well received. These were chiefly military men, sent to negotiate over frontier questions and the like; and their nationality is warrant for the greater tact and suavity of their bearing toward such as the Anglo-Saxons regard as inferior races. But there was one visit from Englishmen which proved disastrous to the Abyssinian monarch and people, and changed the royal succession. The descent of an English army into Abyssinia proved to the people that their girdle of stupendous mountains did not render them impregnable to outside attack.

The events which brought about the invasion of a British army may be briefly summarized thus: In the middle of the nineteenth century the supreme power in Abyssinia was in the hands of Ali, a prince of the Gallas, but by a combination of force and guile he was ousted by Liz Casa, who, under the name of Theodore I., was subsequently crowned as Negus. Theodore was for a time largely under the influence of the British Consul, Mr. Plowden, but the advice given by him for the unification of the country having proved disastrous, Theodore became the enemy of the British. His resentment was aggravated because he felt his dignity (as he conceived it) hurt by the failure of Queen Victoria to answer a personal letter he had sent her. Mr. Plowden had meanwhile retired, but Theodore seized his successor, Mr. Cameron, and put him in prison, ironed. Another Englishman, Mr. Rassam, was despatched to endeavor to procure his release, but all his efforts proved futile, and he himself was sent to keep Mr. Cameron company. Then the British Government ordered Sir Robert Napier to move an army from India and lead it into Abyssinia to avenge the outrage. It was a most difficult and hazardous undertaking, as the route lay through a savagely mountainous country. Elephants were utilized to advantage on the march, the light field guns being easily carried on the backs of these intelligent and useful monsters. When the army descended into the open country they found the hosts of Theo-

dore ready to receive them. They were massed upon the fortified heights of Magdala, the town where the Negus had fixed his capital. After a desperate battle the heights were carried by storm, the Abyssinians gave way, and Theodore was found among the slain, his hand grasping a pistol in such a way as to show that his last use of the weapon was against himself. The battle was fought on the 13th of April, 1868. It was the only occasion on which any outside power was successful in attacking the Abyssinian interior. The British did not remain long in the country, but they carried off with them the son of Theodore, a young lad, who might have succeeded his father if allowed to remain in the country. The crown, however, was given to John, the Ras, or King, of Tigré; but he in turn was slain in a fight with dervishes of the Soudan, in the year 1889. His successor is the present monarch, Menelik II., formerly Ras of Shoa—the ablest ruler that the country has perhaps ever had.

Concerning the present relations of Abyssinia to the Catholic Church, it may be said that the outlook is much more favorable for reunion than at any time since the expulsion of the European missionaries. Thanks to the wise and paternal action of the late great Pope, Leo XIII., the great body of the Coptic Catholics have been brought back into the Church. On the 11th of June, 1895, the Holy Father addressed to the Coptic clergy an apostolic letter, recalling the ancient connection between the Coptic nation and the Holy See, and the splendor of the traditions of its founders—St. Mark, the Evangelist, he who had acted as the vicar of Peter; Dionysius; Peter the Martyr; Athanasius and Cyril; Antony, the desert saint, and others. He recalled how the Copts had sent a delegation to the Council of Florence, under Pope Eugenius IV., and lamented that the reunion there effected had not remained intact. To his affecting advances the Copts soon returned a sympathetic reply. They sent it by a deputation of clergy and civil dignitaries, headed by the Right Rev. Monsignor Cirillo Macario, Bishop of the Catholic Copts. The address to the Holy Father was read by His Excellency Boghos Bey Ghali, a high Egyptian functionary. It breathed the most fervent hope for the full realization of the Holy Father's desire for the reunion of the Churches of the East and the West, and craved his apostolic blessing for the Coptic nation. This the venerable Pontiff lovingly imparted, being visibly touched by the warmth of the reply which his advances had evoked. The Coptic Rite, it is estimated, numbered about 145,000 followers. These are now in renewed connection with Rome, through the Patriarchate of Alexandria; and it is believed that this connection will shortly be extended to the Copts of Abyssinia, if such, indeed, has not already

been accomplished. There are in that country about 25,000 Uniats, while the dissidents (that is, the Monophysites) are estimated at about three millions. There are also many Jews and Mahometans among the population, besides an unknown number of pagans on the wild borders. There is no Catholic hierarchy, but there is a Vicar-Apostolic, who, receiving his instructions from Rome, renews the ancient connection, to some extent, between the Supreme See and the Ethiopian Church.

Notwithstanding the progress made since the accession of Menelik II., the state of civilization among the people of Abyssinia is still lamentably low. The opening of communication between the country and the United States may, however, be fruitful in good results. If Catholic missionaries go out from this country, they may be able to do good work, but they will do well to be judicious in the treatment of existing abuses. The work must necessarily be uphill, for the ideas that underlie the habits and beliefs of the people are founded in immemorial tradition. It may be useful to present some notion of what these ideas and habits are, as recorded by the most reliable observers.

A rooted belief in amulets and talismans to ward off evil spirits or menacing dangers of any kind is an immemorial characteristic of the Abyssinians. This weakness is, however, not peculiar to them. Many other Oriental and not a few European populations are affected by a similar superstition. But there is something unique in the attitude of the people toward strangers who visit their country. They are usually welcomed and hospitably entertained, but if they wish to depart there is much reluctance to allow them to fulfill their desire. To such an extreme is this characteristic carried that it has in at least one instance been the cause of war between an outside country and the kingdom of the Negus. In earlier times it was the cause of much trouble, which stopped short of war only because of the inaccessibility of the court and capital and the difficulties of transportation.

Although the Abyssinians generally receive strangers with cordiality or civility, they preserve the Oriental dislike to eating or drinking with them. All vessels that have been used by strangers while sojourning with them they break or subject to purification on their departure.

Having said so much regarding the religion, the superstitions and the social customs of this interesting people, it is proper to take a glance at their political and governmental institutions, which are in several respects unlike most others in the world outside those great barriers of hills which shut Abyssinia in seclusion. It will be recalled that when Dr. Johnson wrote "*Rasselas*" he laid the

scene to a large extent in that country, though the idea of his "happy valley" would seem to correspond rather with the accounts of Ethiopia and the fountain of youth. But he was nearer the truth when he depicted the custom of the country with regard to the heirs to the throne. These are invariably taken away and placed in a large dwelling on the top of a high mountain, where they see no one from the outside world but the servants appointed to look after their wants and the teachers to whom their education is confided. Thus they grow up in complete ignorance of the intrigues of courts and the flatteries of sycophants, healthy in mind and body and free from the ordinary temptations which beset the path of youth in the rest of the world. But the reflections of Dr. Johnson in the adventures of Imlac and the Princess would lead one to believe that not even a happy valley and the absence of worldly wiles may suffice to satisfy the cravings of the mind for novelty or the soul for something higher than the stereotyped teachings of schoolmasters and governesses.

The history of Abyssinia reveals the existence of some wise and progressive rulers, from time to time, but it shows, besides, that among those who ascended the throne after this careful early training there were many in whom seclusion and precaution had not diminished their natural passions or inherent despotism or duplicity. Some of the Kings appear, indeed, to have been more than usually repulsive in their temperament and habits, and as grotesque in their sensualities and cruelties as some of the later Roman Emperors. The Emperor Theodore, who was the immediate predecessor, once removed, of the present Menelik, has been described by several historians as a fantastic and ferocious savage.

The habit of eating raw meat obtains among all classes in Abyssinia, it would appear, and this would seem to account for a tendency to imitate the lower animals in the indulgence of ferocity and sensuality. Whether the rulers of Abyssinia indulged in this nauseating food is not quite clear, but the accounts of many travelers concur in ascribing to the nobles, men and women, indulgence in it as well as brutish intoxication following the savage banquet. No forks are used at meals; and it is the custom for the ladies to stuff the food with their fingers into the mouths of their husbands or brothers as they squat around the table on their haunches, and it is politeness to stuff as much as the mouth can contain without running the risk of actual suffocation in the process.

These are only a few of the peculiarities of the Abyssinian common people, and even the better classes. Many other strange characteristics might be enumerated, did space permit. But from what has been thus briefly described it will be seen that the missionary who

recognizes social reform as part of his proper work will have a task before him not much inferior to that of Hercules when he set to work to clean out the Augean stables.

JOHN J. O'SHEA.

Philadelphia.

THE CONDEMNATION OF FOUR WORKS BY THE ABBE LOISY.

L'Evangile and l'Eglise.
Etudes Evangeliques.
Autour d'un Petit Livre.
Le Quatrième Evangile.

I.

Decree of the Sacred Congregation of the Index.

Sacra Congregatio Eminentissimorum ac Reverendissimorum Sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae Cardinalium a Sanctissimo Domino nostro Pio Papa X. Sanctâque sede Apostolicâ Indici librorum pravae doctrinae eorumdemque proscriptioni, expurgationi ac permissioni in universâ christianâ republica praepositorum et delegatorum, habita in Palatio Apostolico Vaticano die 4 Decembris 1903, damnavit et damnat, proscripsit proscribitque, vel alias damnata atque proscripta in indicem librorum prohibitorum referri mandavit et mandat quae sequuntur opera:

Albert Houtin—*La Question Biblique chez les Catholiques de France* aut. xix. siècle.

Albert Houtin—*Pres difficultés avec mon évêque.*

Alfred Loisy—*La Religion d'Israel.* Decr. S. Off., fer. iv., 16 Dec., 1903.

Alfred Loisy—*L'Evangile et l'Eglise,* 16 Dec., 1903.

Alfred Loisy—*Etudes Evangeliques,* 16 Dec., 1903.

Alfred Loisy—*Autour d'un Petit Livre,* 16 Dec., 1903.

Alfred Loisy—*Le Quatrième Evangile,* 16 Dec., 1903.

Datum Romae die 23 Dec. 1903.

ANDREAS CARD. STEINHUBER, Praefectus.

FR. THOMAS ESSER, Ord. Praed. à Secretis.

THE ABBÉ LOISY.—Students of contemporary French religious literature have been awaiting the results of the delation to the Holy See of several books from the pen of the Abbé Loisy, regarding which much notice has been taken in several English journals. The decision has been given, and his last two books, "*L'Evangile et l'Eglise*" and "*Autour d'un Petit Livre*," have been placed on the Index, along with his "*La Religion d'Israel*," "*Etudes Evangeliques*" and "*Le Quatrième Evangile*." The effect of this decision must be important, for the author and his works are very well known in France. Hitherto, when M. Loisy has found himself the object of episcopal condemnations, he has invariably submitted, and we do not for a moment doubt that this attitude will be maintained in the present conjuncture. Indeed, the more solemn the source of the condemnation, the greater the

THE ABBÉ LOISY.—The Abbé Loisy has written to the Cardinal-Archbishop of Paris informing His Eminence that he is sending to the Sacred Congregation of the Index his submission to the decree condemning his books. The Abbé is to be congratulated upon an act which will, no doubt, produce deep satisfaction in Rome and throughout the Catholic world. Such an act, even for the humblest, involves a great mental strain, and those Catholics who perform it are entitled to the sympathy of all who love manliness and courage. Human feeling is usually pulling the other way, for most men are fondly wedded to their own opinions, and, unfortunately, the path of duty is not rendered more smooth by people who pose as friends in the press. On the one hand, even some who favor obedience make it more difficult by the use of hard terms which seem to reveal a certain pleasure in

reason for submission. "Roma locuta est;" and M. Loisy, whose piety and humility are admitted to be conspicuous even by the testimony of his opponents, will, we hope and feel sure, bow before the decision arrived at regarding his speculative theories by the highest tribunal in the Church, and by his obedience set an example which will at once edify and instruct.

lacerating wounds; and on the other hand, there are many who, having themselves renounced allegiance to religious authority, try to picture the acceptance of it as something unbecoming, if not degrading. The Abbé Loisy has too much strength of character to allow himself to be misled by unwise counsellors.

It is interesting to compare these two paragraphs from a Catholic paper with the following:

AN ANGLICAN VIEW OF M. LOISY. By the Rev. W. Sanday, D. D., Margaret Professor of Divinity in the University of Oxford.—Many of us in the Church of England have been following with deep interest and sympathy the fortunes of M. Loisy. Neither the interest nor the sympathy have been wholly personal. Of course, we need not say that the Abbé Loisy himself is an attractive and even more than attractive figure. The part that he has played will stand out prominently in the history of our time. But we in the Church of England cannot forget that we have passed through, and indeed are still passing through, a crisis very similar to that which is agitating the Church of Rome. With us it has been quite as acute and much more diffused. Whereas in France the crisis has culminated rapidly, almost in a single decade, in England it has been spread over a full half century; and whereas in France the single name of M. Loisy is conspicuous above all others, in England the movement has been associated with many names.

In this one decade, and largely through the work of this one man, the Church of Rome seems to have caught and even in some ways passed us. For I look upon it that in his main object M. Loisy has practically succeeded. The cause of freedom, within limits, is substantially won. It is not likely that the shadow on the dial will ever go seriously backward.

In this country the whole idea of an Index of Prohibited Books is unpopular. We prefer, with all its risks, the atmosphere of free discussion, and we believe that truth holds its own in the end. But from the paternal standpoint of the Church of Rome, it seems to me, if I may say so, that the authorities have acted wisely. Speaking from my own point of view, I should be inclined to say that such a decision as this substantially met the rights of the case. With all my admiration for M. Loisy, I cannot help thinking that some parts of his teaching are really hazardous—not well founded in criticism, and likely to have regrettable consequences.

I am well aware that M. Loisy subscribes entirely and *ex animo* to all the beliefs of his Church. But his critical solvents are sometimes so strong that I cannot follow the process by which he is able to do so.

For instance, he is of opinion that the Fourth Gospel was not written by St. John, and that it does not embody a strictly historical tradition, but that it is almost all pure allegory. While holding these opinions, and so regarding the Gospel as expressing Christian ideas current at the beginning of the second century and not a series of facts that actually happened in the first, I find it difficult to understand what he conceives to be the ultimate justification for those ideas. It seems to me that the Christian ideas of the beginning of the second century presuppose a far larger basis of fact than M. Loisy allows for them. If he urges in reply that he has thrown doubt not upon the facts themselves, but only upon the literary evidence that is commonly produced for them, I can only ask what other knowledge of the facts we possess apart from that evidence. I have little doubt that the beliefs of the second century imply in the main antecedents not very different from those contained in our Gospels. So far as M. Loisy questions these, without putting anything substantial in their place, he seems to me to leave the beliefs of the second century unaccounted for. As I understand him, these beliefs seem suspended in the air, and without solid foundation.

I am, of course, not concerned with the process by which M. Loisy arrives at his beliefs, except in so far as that process is one that other Christians can be expected to follow. On that subject I should have grave doubts, and from that side I should consider the tendency of his books such as to give rise to not a little anxiety. But, as a student and a scholar, the objection I should take would be, not that his methods of criticism are likely to have unfortunate effects, but that as criticism they are faulty and wrong.—*The Pilot*, January 23, 1904.

It is not often that Catholics and Protestants alike agree in

Rome's condemnation of a book. Still less often is it the case that a Biblical critic of high standing in the Church of England concurs in the verdict passed upon a Biblical critic of the Catholic Church. The Abbé Loisy has long been known as a fearless critic who has not hesitated to put forward views which have hitherto been associated with so-called Rationalism. Catholic theologians, however, have for some time been watching his career with anxiety. Fearless in propounding his views, he has been equally fearless in withdrawing them when episcopal censures have been passed upon them. He recalls the times of the "Avenir" of Montalembert, of Lacordaire and of the unhappy Abbé, who had not the docility and submissiveness so remarkable in himself. Hitherto Rome has not spoken, but now it almost seems as though the Abbé had forced her hand. It will be remembered that Professor Harnack's lectures on the "Essence of Christianity" caused a ferment in the non-Catholic Biblical and theological world, and hardly less excitement was caused by the Abbé Loisy's reply, entitled, "L'Évangile and L'Eglise." It was felt at once that the Abbé had gone too far in his concessions to modern critical views. P. Lagrange, O. P., in the *Revue Biblique*;¹ P. Pégues, O. P., in the *Revue Thomiste*,² and F. Palmieri, S. J., all united in condemning it. The ferment caused by its publication induced the Abbé, perhaps ill advisedly, to publish his "Autour d'un Petit Livre," in which in a series of letters to prominent ecclesiastics in France he stated his views with great clearness and precision. Almost immediately afterwards appeared a bulky volume of 960 pages, "Le Quatrième Évangile," a work which must have occupied the author several years. Many views therein contained had already appeared in his "Études Évangéliques," republished for the most part from the "Revue d'Histoire et de Littérature Religieuses," 1897-1900.

In the paragraphs quoted above from Dr. Sanday's article in the *Pilot* one feature of these various works has been noticed, viz.: the Abbé's denial of the Johannine authorship of the Fourth Gospel. It is not, however, his denial of a long established and cherished tradition so much as the methods of criticism which had led him to it which now concern us and which undoubtedly led to his condemnation. The Church has never shown herself opposed to very free literary criticism of the Bible. The many treatises of the Abbé Loisy himself which have not come under the Church's censure are a proof of it. This has been well expressed by Archbishop Mignot in the "correspondent" quoted in the *Pilot* for January 23, 1904:

¹ April, 1903.

² March, 1903.

"Our faith," he writes, "would be in jeopardy if by the word *faith* were understood the *ensemble* of so-called traditionary beliefs, received without any examination; it would be in jeopardy, for instance, with many intellects, if we were to stick to the old cosmogony, the common chronology, to the vulgar notions about the authenticity, integrity, mode of composition of our books, their dates and authors, the confidence they deserve when touching history or science. . . . On the contrary, we have nothing to fear if what is called 'Christian faith' corresponds to a belief in a primitive revelation gradually developing under a continuous action of Providence and to be freed by the Church from the impurities mixed with it by the ignorance and prejudices of the past."

And a little further on he adds :

Our opponents twit us with an ignorance of the progress of criticism, or even hostility to it; they will have it that it is incompatible with the teaching of the Roman Church representing above all a principle of undisputed authority. Indeed, there would be an incompatibility between the Church and criticism if criticism meant an initial denial of the supernatural; not so if the word applies to a literary examination of the authorship and an investigation into the historical value of the sacred books.

The Church's condemnations generally fall on conclusions, but thus indirectly either upon the method employed or upon the writer's abuse of a method in itself unimpeachable. And this seems to us to have been the Abbé's mistake. He has a marvelous gift for literary criticism, but it would seem that this very gift has led him off the right path. He has studied and meditated the Fourth Gospel for many years until he has entered deeply into its spirit. As a literary composition its symbolical character has impressed itself upon him, and he has read the whole in the light of symbol. Would it be unjust to say that he has so colored his spectacles that he perforce sees everything in their light? We believe that Jansenius was a deep theologian and a saintly man, yet is it not unfortunately true that the result of reading St. Augustine's works no less than eight times resulted in the ill-fated "Augustinus?" He had, if we may so express it, read himself into a groove, and therefore read himself and his own views into and not out of St. Augustine.

We will only take the one feature of the Abbé's criticism which has been mentioned above, viz.: his denial of the authenticity of St. John's Gospel.

II.

When we pass from the Gospel narratives of St. Matthew, St. Mark and St. Luke to that of St. John, we find ourselves in another world. The first three evangelists have indeed their characteristics which individualize them, but the lines along which they move are the same. St. Matthew's Gospel may fittingly be called a *summa predicabilium*, a repertory whence the early Christian teachers could draw details for depicting the life of Christ. St. Mark's Gospel deals with the ministry of Jesus, "The beginning of the Gospel of

Jesus Christ," viz.: "the beginning of Christ's preaching of the good tidings." St. Luke follows in their footsteps, but throws his narrative into more historical and orderly form. The two former unite as eye-witnesses; the latter had probably never seen the Lord, but depended on the witness of others. The narrative in all three is simple in the extreme; parables and miracles interwoven, familiar instructions to His disciples, who grow in knowledge and love of Him, while His enemies grow in rancorous hate. All follow one upon the other till the closing scene on Calvary. Christ is represented as a "Hebrew of the Hebrews," as the Son of the carpenter, who "went about doing good." It is everywhere the humanity which is uppermost, the Divinity, the Messiahship even, are carefully hidden. The words "tell the vision to no man" close the Transfiguration. In the words of the Abbé Loisy: "The Synoptic Gospels are, of course, books of Christian preaching and not histories properly so called; but the popular tradition on which they rest is still dominated by the impression of the reality of the facts. We see in it Jesus of Nazareth, fully conscious of His providential mission, beginning to preach in His Galilean surroundings the near approach of the kingdom of heaven. The native simplicity of His words at first draws together a crowd; the prestige afforded by His deep filial piety towards the Heavenly Father who had sent Him, and His deep compassion for those suffering in soul and body, bring about Him a clientèle of poor people to whom He addresses Himself first of all. Miracles flow from Him spontaneously and appear to multiply in spite of Himself. The official guardians of religion, however, are not slow to bestir themselves. The Pharisees criticize the attitude of the new teacher towards the law, towards traditions and towards people of evil repute. The populace, too, soon find that they are mistaken in their reckoning in this promise of a kingdom of God which has not for its primary end the independence of Israel. Jesus knows that He ought to carry the good tidings to Jerusalem, but His experience in Galilee warns Him of the probably fatal result of such a step. However, He obeys the law of His destiny. He comes to Jerusalem for the Passover; He teaches there some days, while the priests watch Him uneasily and the scribes with jealousy. Finally He is delivered up to the Roman authorities as a disturber of the peace and as a false Messias. The governor sees that He is no political agitator, but the equivocal sound of the titles—Messias and King of the Jews—which are avowed even before His judge, is difficult to shirk, and Pilate yields to pressure. Jesus dies on the cross, and His properly Messianic character, His glory as the Head of the body of the chosen just, only begins with His resurrection. Looked at thus, the linking together of the facts,

the behavior of the actors in the scenes, of Jesus after His baptism, of the Pharisees and priests, of Pilate, needs no explanation. The whole explains itself by the mutual relation of the circumstances and the principal events. The dignity of Christ is felt throughout, but it is hidden under a modest appearance. His career develops much as other things do in this world.

But it is quite another thing when we come to the Fourth Gospel. Here Christ, from the very commencement, astounds Galilee and, beyond all, Jerusalem, by the most extraordinary prodigies, while at the same time men are stupefied by a doctrine which none of them can understand. The Johannine Christ is presented as a transcendental Being who is not of this earth, but from heaven; who seems to speak and act only to fulfill His own declaration that He is God and one with God. Of His intercourse with the men of His time, even with His own familiar friends, not a word is said. Those who are brought into contact with Him are only introduced to us to give Him an opportunity for making declarations which always come back to the same point—the Divinity of His origin. He is spared all contact with lepers, with the possessed, with fallen woman.³ We read of no familiarity with the Pharisees and publicans, nor even with His own disciples. He has foreknowledge of men's dispositions and of the programme of His own life. He marches with an even, nay, almost automatic step, to the fatal goal of His destiny, never moved by any emotion save when He wishes it; never disturbed by the fate which awaits Him, except it be once when He says that He is uneasy, but immediately adds that He ought not to be so and is not really so.⁴ Since, moreover, His teaching has no other aim than to prove the Divinity of His Person and of His mission, His miracles are limited to those which prove what He teaches. They are to manifest His glory,⁵ as we are told of the miracle at Cana. These same miracles are proofs of His omnipotence at the same time that they are transparent symbols of His spiritual work, that is, ever and always, of His mission such as His teaching defined it. They are great allegories in action which He Himself proposed before all the people. He goes to meet death, and the soldiers can arrest Him only because He permits it. He is not merely firm before Caiphas and Pilate, but He dominates them with His whole Divinity. On the cross He is as it were on His royal throne. He asks for water so that He may fulfill a prophecy, and then, "knowing that all things were accomplished," the prophecies of old and His Father's will, He gives up the ghost.⁶

³ The story of the woman taken in adultery, chap. viii., 1-12, does not belong to the Fourth Gospel.

⁴ XII., 27-28.

⁵ II., 11.

⁶ *Autour d'un Petit Livre*, pp. 88-92.

Now the traditional view with regard to these seeming discrepancies has been that the author of the Fourth Gospel wrote with a full knowledge of the Synoptic narratives, but that he has given the independent account of an eye-witness, supplementing their picture of the Saviour.

Such an explanation, however, falls far short of the truth. The writer, to begin with, is not merely a supplementer; he has his own definite aim:

But these are written that you may believe that Jesus is the Christ the Son of God; and that believing you may have life in his name (xx., 31).

Further, we notice that he studiously omits all parables, unless it be the acted parables of the vine and the sheepfold. Again, his narrative is largely made up of discourses which are of an entirely different cast from those in the earlier Gospel stories. Nor is it absolutely correct to say that he supplements his predecessors; he rather seems to correct them, and indeed appears to go out of his way to show his disregard for their statements. What harmonist can satisfactorily explain the different occasions assigned by the Fourth Gospel and by the Synoptics to the cleansing of the Temple?

Hence the Abbé Loisy acknowledges that he himself has undergone a revulsion of feeling: "As long as I had not made a deep and independent study for myself of the Gospel of St. John and was inclined to admit its apostolic origin, the assertions of ecclesiastical tradition seemed to me of great weight, and the existence of a special tradition of his own appeared to me the best explanation of the divergences from the Synoptics presented by St. John. But the more profoundly I entered into the spirit of the work and the more closely I studied it for the space of several years, the more clearly I seemed to see that, whoever the author was, he had not written from his own recollections, but had conceived and produced a theological and mystical interpretation of the Gospel. . . . For if we are to accept the testimony of the Fourth Gospel as an historical life of Christ, it cannot be as a complement to the narrative of the Synoptics. Rather we must say that he corrects them to such an extent as to almost entirely destroy them. We have two pictures of the career and teaching of Christ, and we must choose between them. If Jesus spoke and acted, and we see Him speak and act in the Synoptics, then He did not speak and act as St. John depicts Him; and, conversely, if St. John's is an historical account of the Gospel, then that of the Synoptics must be an artificial account of it, and a disfigured picture of Christ. A self-complacent exegesis which deems itself historical while it is really purely theological may deceive itself with regard to the incompatibility of the two pictures

and may maintain that they are of the same order. Critical exegesis cannot and should not do so."

This is straightforward criticism and leaves no doubt as to the Abbé's position. For him no historical data precisely as such are to be found in the Fourth Gospel. We may doubt not, indeed, the existence of Nicodemus, but his reputed conversation with our Lord; the Samaritan woman may have been a creation of the author's brain; so also the man born blind, whose faith we have all admired. In the Abbé's own words:

After these things was a festival day of the Jews, and Jesus went up to Jerusalem.

The presence of the disciple at the foot of the cross and the witness he gives to the miracles of the water and flood have no historical consistency. The pictures of the leave-takings and of the piercing with the lance are both of them symbolical, interpolated into the framework provided by the synoptics for the passion, and contradicted by the former evangelists. There was no woman or disciple at the foot of the cross; and since Jesus died about three hours after midday, the piercing with the lance as a replacement of the "crurifragium" had no *raison d'être*. The disciple is, in his ideal character, only the perfect Christian and the spiritual witness. His share in these unreal scenes cannot make him an historical personage. He is the new-born Church receiving the inheritance of Judaism and Jewish Christianity.—*Le Quatrième Evangile*, p. 128.

This is startling doctrine, but when worked out in detail it becomes still more so. It will be worth our while, then, to see how St. John's narratives and the discourses he attributes to our Blessed Lord fare under the Abbé's scalpel. The story of the man who lay for eight and thirty years languishing by the pool of Bethesda at the Probatic gate will furnish us with a good example of his method:

Now there is at Jerusalem a pond, called Probatica, which in Hebrew is named Bethesda, having five porches.

In these lay a great multitude of sick, of blind, of lame, of withered, waiting for the moving of the water.

And an Angel of the Lord descended at certain times into the pond; and the water was moved. And he that went down first into the pond after the motion of the water, was made whole of whatsoever infirmity he lay under.

And there was a certain man there, that had been eight and thirty years under his infirmity.

Him when Jesus had seen lying, and knew that he had been now a long time, he saith to him: Wilt thou be made whole?

The infirm man answered him: Sir, I have no man, when the water is troubled, to put me into the pond. For whilst I am coming, another goeth down before me.

Jesus saith to him: Arise, take up thy bed, and walk.

And immediately the man was made whole; and he took up his bed and walked. And it was the sabbath that day.

The Jews therefore said to him that was healed: it is the sabbath, it is not lawful for thee to take up thy bed.

He answered them: He that made me whole, he said to me: Take up thy bed, and walk.

They asked him, therefore: Who is that man who said to thee: Take up thy bed, and walk?

But he who was healed, knew not who it was. For Jesus went aside from the multitude standing in the place.

Afterwards Jesus findeth him in the temple, and saith to him: Behold thou art made whole: sin no more, lest some worse thing happen to thee.

And the man went his way and told the Jews that it was Jesus who had made him whole.

Therefore did the Jews persecute Jesus, because he did these things on the sabbath.

But Jesus answered them: My Father worketh until now; and I work.

Hereupon therefore the Jews sought the more to kill him, because he did not only break the sabbath, but also said God was his Father, making himself equal to God. (St. John v.)

Before giving the Abbé's commentary on the text a few points may be dwelt on:

V. 1—"After these things;" *μετὰ ταῦτα*, not *μετὰ τοῦτο*, is used by St. John at the beginning of this and the two subsequent chapters, and is noteworthy as indicating the Evangelist's eclectic method. He selects his episodes, one or two in the course of each year's ministry, and that undoubtedly for the sake of the doctrine he wishes to derive from them.

"A festival day." No amount of controversy will settle what feast this was. If we read it with the article as do the codices α C. and L. we shall probably understand it of the Passover, in which case there will have been four Passovers during the course of our Lord's public ministry, which thus extended over a space of three and a half years. If we disregard the article, the words may refer to the Feast of Purim, or to that of Trumpets. The former fell in March, the latter in September.

V. 2—The precision of the description should be noticed; the identification of this pool does not concern us here.

Vs. 3-4—The latter part of verse 3 and the whole of verse 4 should almost certainly be omitted. Their insertion is readily explained as an amplification of verse 7, and has little manuscript authority.

V. 5—We cannot conclude that he had lain eight and thirty years by the pool, though most commentators so understand the words.

V. 6—Our Lord's Divine or infused human knowledge is pointed out by the Evangelist, chapter ii., 24-25, etc.

V. 7—The man answers his interlocutor's implied fear that he may have acquiesced in his infirm state and may not care to be healed, preferring his present idleness.

V. 8—The command is practically the same as that of the Synoptics—cf., St. Mark ii., 9-11.

V. 9—"And it was the Sabbath-day," perhaps better "that day was a Sabbath," viz.: some special feast—the feast in question in verse 1. This is the motive for St. John's insertion of the miracle. It was an instance of our Lord's reiterated breaches of the Pharisaic observance of the Sabbath, and as such provoked the hostility of the religious rulers, and consequently also our Lord's discourse on His prerogatives.

Vs. 10-12—The Jews protest against the man's infringement of the Sabbath, but he only replies that one who had healed him ordered him to do so. He was probably a well-known object of

compassion, and the Jews could not fail to recognize him (Cf. Acts iii., 10); but they pass over the healing, being absorbed in the breach of regulations. It should be noticed how true to life this picture is; the man's reply and their evasion of its import, "The Son of Man is Lord also of the Sabbath" (St. Mark ii., 28), are proof of an intimate knowledge of the Jews of the period and cannot be translated into the second century A. D.

"Who is that man?" They were the representatives of Moses and of God. What mere man dared break their law?

V. 14—"In the Temple," where presumably he had gone to thank God, and where, too, the Jews had seen him.

"Sin no more." Contrast this with ix., 1-3.

V. 15—"Went his way," and we hear no more of him. So it is always in St. John's narratives; the actors are introduced not for their own sake, but to bring into prominence the central Figure and His teaching. Nicodemus and the Samaritan woman are similar instances.

V. 16—"Therefore did the Jews persecute Jesus." The use of the imperfect ἐδίωκον and ἐποίησεν should be noticed. They habitually did so because He habitually, or from principle, disregarded their Sabbatine traditions. This indicates that St. John has chosen this episode merely as a type of many others. It serves as a starting point for the growing hostility of the Jews, and thus also for our Lord's series of discourses in the subsequent chapters.

The Abbé's criticism is weighty and elaborate, but we have not space to do more than select the salient points. As we remarked above, the verses 3 and 4 are generally omitted on grounds of sensual criticism, grounds which also appeal to the Abbé's sense of sensual propriety. But his literary criticism also rejects them. "We can quite understand the Evangelist grouping a number of sick round the pool and awaiting their cure, a cure which he does not mention as taking place; we can understand why he singles out one of them who during the space of thirty-eight years has often come thither and has found no relief; but it seems contrary to the deeper significance of the story that cures should be mentioned at all as taking place miraculously at this spot. Jesus alone works true miracles. Jesus alone cures. If miracles were commonly wrought at the pool they would minimize the value of the one which is going to take place. There may indeed have been cures wrought at the pool, since men came there to seek them, but the Evangelist could not have insisted on their reality nor on their cause. The water of Bethesda, like the baptism of John, is a figure of the reign of the law, and the case of the paralytic is intended to show that the reign of the law does not lead to salvation."

And how symbolical the whole story is! "That day then, a man lay stretched by the pool; he had been ill eight and thirty years." Since he probably stands for the Jewish people it is not rash to suppose that his thirty-eight years also have a symbolical meaning. If the story is to be referred to a period two years before the Passion the sick man would have been ill forty years when Christ died. This period of forty years, which is the same as that of the sojourn in the desert and which is the Biblical equivalent for a generation, is very appropriate for a person who represents Israel and who may also stand for the human race redeemed by Christ. Critics have recalled the thirty-eight years' sojourn in the desert and the connection is not improbable.

And a little further on we read: "Jesus does not come to pay a visit of charity to the sick at Bethesda. He comes to cure the man who has been a paralytic eight and thirty years, and so show in so doing that He brings life to men. The question: 'Wilt thou be made whole?' is only natural when understood thus with a spiritual meaning which elevates it and saves it from appearing childish or an artificial preparation for the miracle."⁸

Again: "It is no use puzzling over the question how it was that the paralytic failed during thirty-eight years to find a favorable opportunity. The older commentators gladly avoided the difficulty by supposing that the movement of the water was only a rare occurrence, perhaps only once a year. This is an impossible explanation, since the influx of sick people was continual and the welling-up of the spring is generally held to have been frequent, at least a daily occurrence, though perhaps at no fixed hour. We must look for the real solution of the difficulty in the symbolic character of the story. The paralytic must be cured by *Christ*. There is an inveterate paralysis which *He* alone can heal; for *He* alone restores youth, *He* alone regenerates human nature by the gift of eternal life. Judaism was like this fountain which only healed one at a time, if indeed it did really heal him, while all the others had to wait."⁹

"*Arise, take up thy bed and walk.*" The Abbé writes: "Critics have remarked that the words addressed by Jesus to the paralytic at the pool are almost identical with those addressed, according to the Synoptics, to the paralytic at Capharnaum, and several opine that we have here the same miracle transferred by the author of the Fourth Gospel to Jerusalem in order to bring it into greater prominence. The motive assigned, however, seems less solid than the hypothesis it is intended to support, for if such a transposition has taken place it is not for the sake of magnifying the miracle, but as

⁸ *Ibid*, pp. 389-390.

⁹ *Ibid*, p. 391.

being better calculated to bring out the symbolic teaching which the Evangelist has in view. Since the author is more solicitous about the didactic interpretation of his narratives than about their material exactitude, we cannot say that the idea of such a transposition is impossible or improbable. Some of the older writers admitted the identity of the two paralytics and of the two miracles. St. Chrysostom blames them for it, but only refutes them by alleging the discrepancies between the two stories. . . . It is at least clear that the bed or *κράβαττον* which is quite in keeping with the Synoptic narrative where the paralytic is brought to Jesus, is hardly in conformity with the Johannine narrative where the sick man, who has no one to throw him into the pool, could still less find porters to carry him in his bed and deposit him under the porches of Bethesda."

Why the Abbé should imagine that *κράβαττον* should signify a cumbersome bed it is hard to imagine. It may well have been only a piece of matting.

Before continuing his commentary, it may be as well to put side by side the miracle upon the paralytic at Capharnaum as given by the Synoptics and St. John's narrative given above. We must leave our readers to judge for themselves of the compatibility or incompatibility of the two accounts.

And again he entered into Capharnaum after some days.

And it was heard that he was in the house, and many came together, so that there was no room, no, not even at the door, and he spoke to them the word.

And they came to him bringing one sick of the palsy, who was carried by four.

And when they could not offer him unto him for the multitude, they uncovered the roof where he was: and opening it they let down the bed wherein the man sick of the palsy lay.

And when Jesus had seen their faith, he saith to the sick of the palsy: Son, thy sins are forgiven thee.

And there were some of the scribes sitting there, and thinking in their hearts:

Why doth this man speak thus? he blasphemeth. Who can forgive sins, but God only?

Which Jesus presently knowing in his spirit, that they so thought within themselves, saith to them: Why think you these things in your hearts?

Which is easier, to say to the sick of the palsy: Thy sins are forgiven thee; or to say: Arise, take up thy bed, and walk?

But that you may know that the

After these things was a festival day of the Jews, and Jesus went up to Jerusalem.

Now there is at Jerusalem a pond, called Probatika, which in Hebrew is named Bethesda, having five porches.

In these lay a great multitude of sick, of blind, of lame, of withered, waiting for the moving of the water.

And an angel of the Lord descended at certain times into the pond; and the water was moved. And he that went down first into the pond after the motion of the water, was made whole of whatsoever infirmity he lay under.

And there was a certain man there, that had been eight and thirty years under his infirmity.

Him when Jesus had seen lying, and knew that he had been now a long time, he saith to him: Wilt thou be made whole?

The infirm man answered him: Sir, I have no man, when the water is troubled, to put me into the pond. For whilst I am coming, another goeth down before me.

Jesus saith to him: Arise, take up thy bed, and walk.

And immediately the man was made whole: and he took up his bed and walked. And it was the sabbath that day.

The Jews therefore said to him

son of man hath power on earth to forgive sins (he saith to the sick of the palsy),

I say to thee, Arise, take up thy bed, and go into thy house.

And immediately he arose; and taking up his bed, went his way in the sight of all, so that all wondered, and glorified God, saying: We never saw the like. (St. Mark ii., 1-12.)

that was healed: It is the sabbath, it is not lawful for thee to take up thy bed.

He answered them: He that made me whole, he said to me: Take up thy bed, and walk.

They asked him therefore: Who is that man who said to thee: Take up thy bed, and walk?

But he who was healed, knew not who it was. For Jesus went aside from the multitude standing in the place. (St. John v., 1-13.)

The commentary continues:

But if this detail and others like it come from the synoptics or are not meant to be taken historically—for the miracle is explained symbolically by the following discourse, in which the work of healing the man is confused with the work of salvation wrought by Christ—we have not really the slightest reason for preferring the hypothesis of a miracle at Jerusalem only vaguely known to that of a transference thither for doctrinal reasons of a Galilean miracle. This latter hypothesis ought to be the more probable, since it rests upon positive indications (the *κείβητον* and the words "arise, take up thy bed, and walk!") and is conformable to the author's method; while on the other hand the hypothesis of the existence of a distinct tradition for the Jerusalem miracle merely relies on the notion that the Evangelist could not mean to place at Jerusalem a miracle which he knew took place at Capharnaum. But it is not proved, nay, it is not even probable that he would have hesitated to make such a transposition if he felt that it was to the interest of his doctrinal aim. His narratives are not, as we already know, histories in the strict sense of the word; they are figurative pictures in which the material and descriptive features are not the sense principally intended. It will not do to answer to this that if the author of the Fourth Gospel invited to transfer to Jerusalem the conflict between Jesus and the Pharisees with regard to the Sabbath he had at his disposal narratives to be found in the synoptic traditions and relating to this dispute at Jerusalem, and could not have brought the paralytic from Capharnaum. The dispute about the Sabbath is only an accessory complication in the Johannine narrative. The story of the paralytic has not been chosen by the author in order to introduce this dispute, but because of its significance; the Evangelist will take care to draw this out after the question of the Sabbath, which is only, as it were, a subsidiary piece of instruction about which the author did not wish to furnish a special narrative.—Quatrième Evangile, p. 393.

And in support of this interpretation the Abbé elsewhere writes:

Certain features of these narratives are figurative of an idea which corresponds to a difficulty. Thus everything said about John the Baptist tends to show him the witness of the Word made flesh, and is also figurative of the relationship of the Law or Mosaic revelation to the Gospel. Similarly the marriage feast at Cana and the second testimony of John are figurative of the same relation of Law and Gospel. John, the Baptism in Water, the Judaism of the Law and the Prophets are terms which stand in allegorical opposition to Jesus, the Wine of the New Covenant, the Baptism of the Holy Ghost and Christianity.

The ejection of the sellers from the temple is referred to the Saviour's first visit to Jerusalem, because it was, according to the Synoptic tradition, the first act performed by Him in the Holy City; the Evangelist sees in it a figure of the coming of Christ and of His work. So also in the story of the woman of Samaria he sees the universality of salvation and the conversion of the Gentiles. The cure of the son of the King's officer is also a figure of the same doctrine and lends force to the theory of true faith; men must not ask for miracles as the Jews did in order that they may believe, but they must give in their adhesion, without having seen it in its historic manifestation, to the great miracle of the salvation which has been and is wrought by Christ. The paralytic of Bethesda awaiting for unavailing years his cure at the pool with five perches is peculiarly a figure of the Jewish people seeking in vain in the Law for their salvation. From the discourse attached to this episode we gather that it is a symbol of the great work which Christ has come to accomplish in this world. Again, the lasting character of the Redemption, the permanence of the Divine gifts, are

signified in the multiplication of the loaves. The miracle of Jesus walking on the water completes the lesson of the loaves, making them see that, conformably with what He will say after the discourse on the Bread of Life, the life-giving Christ is the glorified Christ, Christ the Spirit, the Word returning to His eternal glory. The story of the man born blind preaches to us Christ the Light; that of Lazarus, Christ the Life. All these miracles reveal a definite function of the Saviour, an aspect of His mission.

The anointing of Jesus by Mary of Bethany is a figure both of the burial of our Saviour and the triumph of the Gospel, consequent upon His death. The solemn entry into Jerusalem symbolizes in the same way the glory of Christ risen, preached, taken up to heaven and remaining in His Church. Every incident of His Passion tends to manifest His royalty, the voluntary nature of His sacrifice, the Divinity of His Person, the supernatural character of His mission. The varying scenes of the trial before Pilate are significative of the spiritual Kingship of Christ and of the blind rejection by the Jews of the Messiah they had been waiting for. No more injuries, no more ignominy, no, not even more humiliation; the mockery is really for the Jews compelled to submit to Pilate's insulting raillery about their King; and in his mocking words we catch the echo of the Evangelist's contempt for this Messianic people who would have no other King but Cæsar.

The casting lots for His vesture is given for the sake of the prophecy, and so prefigure, in the seamless robe the unity, in the four lots the universality of the Church. The commendation made by Jesus of His Mother to His disciple and of the disciple to His Mother is but another symbol of the Church's unity founded on the reunion of all believers, Jews and Gentiles. The presenting the vinegar fulfilled another prophecy and prefigured the chalice of His death. The integrity assured to Christ's body when the legs of those who hung with Him were broken reduces to actuality the typical nature of the Paschal Lamb and signifies, as always, the unity belonging to the mystical body of the Saviour, while the water and blood which flowed from His pierced side prefigures the Christian sacraments of Baptism and the Eucharist, the signs of the Spirit who communicates to the faithful the life of the immortal Christ. The circumstances of His entombment, too, make it a homage rendered by official Judaism to Jesus. The stories of the Resurrection show us the Saviour glorified and teaching the faith; not a single feature of it is conceived with a view to historical representation; Peter and the Beloved Disciple, Mary of Magdala, the group of Apostles and Thomas, all are but different types of believers to whom Christ's manifestations are differently proportioned, but are all of them to terminate in the profession of faith: "My Lord and my God!"

The apparent realism of these pictures is not a proof of historicity. It is due to the mystic imagination of the author and to the depths of his convictions which prohibits him from clearly distinguishing in his religious musings between the ideal and the real, between theory and history, the symbol and its objects. He perceives the truth in the symbol, and allegoric vision is so familiar with him that there is not the least sign of any effort in adapting his images to his ideas. Even the chronology has to enter into the general symbolism of the book; it would seem to be founded on the mystic number—seven weeks of years—appropriate to the age of the Messias, while a half week, another Messianic number, is reserved for His public career.

It appears to me, then, that the narratives of the Fourth Gospel are purely symbolical, and that the historical data it affords are not inserted for the sake of their primary significance, but for the sake of the meaning attached to them. If we wish to hold fast to the Evangelist's spirit we shall not be too anxious to distinguish between the theological doctrine, the historical tradition and the symbolical interpretation, as though these three elements were to be found there side by side. The theology of the Incarnation and the principle of symbolism closely united together are the dominating principle of the whole.—*Autour d'un Petit Livre*, pp. 99-104.

III.

Enough has been given to show that the Abbé cannot hold the Johannine authorship of the Fourth Gospel in the traditional sense. What, then, does he put in its place?

The conjectures which seem to me the most probable are as follows: The author of the Fourth Gospel was a convert from Judaism, but it was a Hellenistic Judaism, and he had before his conversion been conversant

with the ideas of Philo. He is one of the greatest mystic theologians, nay, let us say the greatest who has ever been in the Christian Church. That he should have wished to remain unknown, that he should have passed unrecognized even in his own age and that tradition should have failed to discover the secret of his anonymity ought to cause us no surprise; the Imitation of Christ furnishes a parallel, and the Book of Wisdom stands on almost the same footing as the Gospel in question; there we find an unknown author speaking in the name of the wisest of kings, Solomon, a typical personage rather than a real and, what is more, not named. And this author propounds in the name of 'the Wise Man' the doctrine of self-revealing wisdom, just as John propounds in the name of 'the disciple' the doctrine of the Word Incarnate.—*Le Quatrième Evangile*, p. 131.

If certain details are intended to give the descriptions the appearance of a real history, it is none the less true that the narrative is never continued beyond what the symbolism demands, and this even at the risk of appearing halting or incomplete. The story of the paralytic is lost in the discourse which it introduces; it is the same with the man born blind. Where did Lazarus go when he came out of the tomb? The Evangelist relinquishes his symbol when he has drawn from it what he wanted.—*Autour d'un Petit Livre*, p. 101.

But if this be the case, if St. John has given us no history, but like any writer of so-called historical novels, has more or less invented and freely adapted his historical framework to an ulterior end, what is the value of the Fourth Gospel? The Abbé answers:

The value of the Fourth Gospel will not be lessened by the fact that we can no longer find in it historical teaching concerning Christ, for He ceases not to be living in it in spirit. The echo of the Gospel story is immeasurably less pronounced than in the Synoptic account, but what does reach our ears is still a profoundly Christian message whose whisper or, let us say, whose spirit, for we must always come back to that, is truly that of Jesus Christ. The Evangelist's soul has meditated the Saviour's teaching, has interpreted it and has comprehended the interests and needs to which such interpretation would answer.—*Le Quatrième Evangile*, p. 138.

The life-like character which appears to characterize these narratives is not due to the fidelity with which they are given, for they are not given as history; nor is it due to a conscious effort to imitate nature, for there is nothing second-hand in these details. It is due rather to the intensity of vision from which they proceed. They are not less improbable or incoherent than the discourses if we examine them as portraying facts. They are more often incomplete sketches, certain features of which are strongly colored and thrown almost by chance on the canvas. They are complete only as symbols and relatively to the lesson the author wishes to draw from them. Looked at as descriptions they would be very meagre in detail and wanting in harmony and consistency. The Fourth Gospel is a book with a key. Those who have not got that key can attempt to understand it, and can, if they like, conceal the difficulty they experience in grasping it; but none the less it remains obscure and confused.

This obscurity is, however, only relative and springs from a failure to understand the species of composition which is under discussion. It will vanish according as we enter into the spirit of the author and the idea of his book, and it is due principally to prejudices which the reader brings with him to its study. The mystery which will remain even for one who puts himself on the Evangelist's level is one which lies at the very root—the true mystery, the mystery of God, the mystery of Christ, the mystery of salvation. Whatever we may do to elucidate this three-fold and unique mystery, it will remain true that since Jesus Christ lived in and proposed to us this mystery it has never been better presented or more admirably defined than in the Fourth Gospel.—*Le Quatrième Evangile*, p. 147.

It is not in itself impossible that one of Christ's Apostles should have written a theology of Christ. . . . We must confess that it is not very probable that one of the Saviour's companions should have written a treatise on the Incarnation under the form of a Gospel history. However, if we find that the traditional witness of tradition in spite of the uncertainty and obscurity which reign over its origin has sufficient authority to counterbalance all the objections suggested by an examination of the book; if we imagine that the aged fisherman of Galilee who remained upto an advanced age one of the pillars of Judaizing Christianity could in his extreme old age enter into and appreciate the spirit and method of the Judæo-Alexandrian school of thought, could make his Master speak the language of the schools, could, so to speak, substitute for the living per-

sonality of our Lord a metaphysical and theological Being, could efface for doctrinal purposes the recollection of His temptation and His baptism, could transpose and allegorize Gethsemane, the Transfiguration and the Eucharistic Supper, could entirely change the historical physiognomy of the Passion so as to make of it nothing but a symbolic picture, and could even systematize the details of the resurrection; if we do not realize any moral impossibility of an Apostle forgetting or deliberately neglecting the real conditions of his own vocation, the instructions given to the Twelve by the Saviour, the real character of the preaching of the Baptist, whose disciple he is supposed to have been, the true development of the career of Jesus, the actual circumstances of His ministry, the authentic form and even the very object of His discourses, His relations with the Jews, the publicans and sinners, the Pharisees, Sadducees and His own disciples—if we can do all this then we can attribute the Fourth Gospel to the Apostle John.—*Le Quatrième Evangile*, p. 137.

It is hardly necessary to prove here that the dilemma, "either Apostle or forger," to which conservative criticism has so imprudently condemned itself, does not really correspond to the facts. The author of the Fourth Gospel would only be a forger if he had given himself out as one of the Twelve, or if he had usurped the name of the son of Zebedee, with a view to writing the story of Christ from the standpoint of an Apostle and of an eye-witness. But he never says he is an Apostle; he remains anonymous and unknown; he never undertakes the historian's office of writing the life of Christ, but he does undertake to teach men Christ. A mystical theologian, a thinker, a prophet, he conceives and keeps in view an ideal life of the Saviour. In the picture which springs so spontaneously from the great soul of the believer divers elements are mingled; recollections of the Synoptic tradition, embellished indeed and transfigured, doctrines of a religious philosophy accommodated to the Christian view, intimate experiences and visions due to faith and to the apologetic and polemical preoccupations of his age. And it all manifests itself as an allegoric poem in historic form.—*Quatrième Evangile*, p. 136.

The author of the Fourth Gospel has conceived of the Christ as a temporal manifestation of the Divine Being, and his book itself is a proof of it; just as the Johannine Christ is the Incarnate Word, so the Johannine Gospel is an incarnation, the figurative representation of the mystery of salvation accomplished by Christ the Word. Discourses and narratives contribute to this revelation of the Saviour, the narratives as signs expressive of spiritual realities, the discourses as explaining those same signs and their profound significance. These very discourses express in figure invisible truth. They are made up of a series of metaphors or allegories which form a picture just as do the narratives and which, equally with them, have a profound significance hidden under the sensible images which clothe them.—*Autour d'un Petit Livre*, pp. 96-97.

No one can quarrel with these words. They read like a page from St. Augustine's incomparable tractatus in Joannem, where the saint writes:

The Evangelist John has amongst his companions and fellow-Evangelists received from the Lord (on whose breast he leaned at the Last Supper, as though to thereby signify that he drew deep and hidden draughts from His inmost Heart) this special and peculiar gift that he says things of the Son of God which have the power to excite the attention of little ones in Christ, but which those who are not yet strong in faith cannot fully grasp. To those, however, who are strong, whose minds have come to a manly maturity in spiritual things, his words afford what may exercise and feed their souls.—*Tract. in Joann.*, xviii., 1.

This appears to us to be the true critical standpoint. It begins with revelation, and realized that since the message therein contained is for all time and for all conditions of men, it must be pregnant with meaning. The Evangelists are like the steward bringing forth from his treasure old things and new for those who approach them with faith. This is the meaning of St. Augustine's "*fides quaerens intellectum*," which is the key to the only really progressive and illuminative criticism of the Sacred Scriptures. In such a sys-

tem literal signification and symbolic purport have each their due sphere, and neither is unduly developed at the expense of the other. For the symbolism of the Gospels is no new idea. The Alexandrian school developed the allegorical explanation to a degree which to us now seems absurd and which appeared to disregard the liberal sense. The school of St. Chrysostom insisted on the latter, and St. Augustine may be said to come between the two. Yet none of these schools denied the literal sense of the words. They dwelt on one of the significations which the Holy Spirit may have had in view and developed it according to their own peculiar cast of mind, but the literal signification lay at the root of all their expositions. Thus the symbolical aspect of this miracle did not escape St. Augustine, as the Abbé Loisy points out. But there is a great contrast between the latter's treatment of the Fourth Gospel and that of the great African Doctor. In his Seventeenth Tractate on St. John's Gospel he never doubts for a moment the absolute historicity of the case of the paralytic, though his application of it is symbolical:

Christ entered the place where lay a great multitude of the sick, the blind, the lame and the withered, and since He was the Physician both of soul and body, and had come to cure the souls of all believers, He chose one out of all those sick people and healed one that He might signify the oneness (of all believers). If the wings of our soul be pinioned, if from a merely human standpoint we consider who it was that acted and the power He had, He indeed did no great thing, and if we reflect upon the kindness of the act, He did but little. So many lay sick, and He cured but one, when He could with a word have cured all!

What, then, are we to gather from this but that His great power and goodness rather wrought something which men's souls might gather from His deeds for their eternal healing, than what men's bodies might deserve for their temporal healing. For the true healing of the body which we wait for from the Lord will take place in the resurrection of the dead. What then shall live shall not die; what then shall be healed shall not sicken; what then shall be sated shall never hunger nor thirst; what then shall be renovated shall never grow old. But now of all our Lord and Saviour's wondrous deeds what remains? The blind eyes that were then opened are now closed in death; the once withered limbs of the paralytic are now in death's dissolution; in fine, whatever temporal cure He wrought on men's mortal bodies has now come to an end; but the soul which believed has passed to eternal life. To the souls then that should believe in Him, and whose sins He had come to forgive, and for the healing of whose wounds He had humbled Himself, to such souls He offered a great sign in this sick man's healing.—S. Aug. in Joann. Tract. xvii., 1.

This is the great Doctor's introduction to his sermon. The literal exposition with its difficulties, and with their resolution by an appeal to the deeper spiritual significance of our Lord's act, come first. But then he proceeds at once to its symbolical character:

The pool and the water seem to me to signify the Jewish people. For the Apocalypse of St. John clearly shows how the people are signified under the type of water. For when the many waters had been shown him and he asked what they were, he was told that they were the nations. This water then, that is the Jewish people, was shut up in the five porches, that is in the five books of Moses. But those same books rather produced infirm men and did not heal them; for the law convinced sinners of sin, but did not cleanse them from their sin.—S. Aug. in Joann. Tract. xvii., 2.

The symbolism of the narrative is, then, perfectly apparent to

St. Augustine, as it is to the Abbé Loisy, but he carefully abstains from, nay, rather, he never dreams of denying the historical nature of the episode merely because he finds the symbol so apparent, and this for the very sufficient reason that there is not the remotest necessity for so doing.

For what are the grounds which have led the Abbé to reject the historicity of the Fourth Gospel? They practically resolve themselves into two main points: The difficulty of reconciling the Fourth Gospel with the preceding three, and the manifest symbolism of the former. This second point is, he maintains, the sole key to the preceding difficulty. According to him, St. John's historical data are difficult to accept just because we make the initial mistake of considering them historical, whereas they are purely symbolical. What proof has he of this assertion? Little more than what we may call the "atmosphere" of the Fourth Gospel. Thus after the picture given above of the Synoptic and the Johannine Christ, he concludes:

This Christ (St. John's) is doubtless no mere metaphysical abstraction, for He lives in the soul of the Evangelist. But it is the Christ of faith, purely spiritual and mystical; it is the immortal Christ who transcends the conditions of time and of earthly existence. The various personages whom the story gathers about Him have become merely figurative types and only as such hold their place in the author's theological and apologetic synthesis. The life which emerges from the whole series of pictures is the life of Christian faith such as belonged to the last portion of the century of the Christian era. John's narratives are not history, but a mystic contemplation of the Gospel-story; his are theological meditations on the mystery of salvation.—*Autour d'un Petit Livre*, p. 93.

Contrast this with the witness of the Muratorian Fragment:

Quarti Evangeliorum Joannes ex discipulis. Cohortantibus condicipulis et episcopis suis dixit, conjejunatè mihi hodie triduum et quid cuique fuerit revelatum alteratum nobis enarremus. Eadem nocte Andreae ex apostolis, ut recognoscentibus cunctis Johannes suo nomine cuncta describeret. Et ideo licet varia singulis Evangeliorum libris principia doceantur, nihil tamen differt credentium fidei, cum uno ac principali spiritu declarata sint in omnia de nativitate, de passione, de Resurrectione, de conversatione cum discipulis suis ac de gemino ejus adventu, primum in humilitate despectus, quod fuit, secundum potestate regali praeclarum, quod futurum est. Quid ergo mirum si Johannes tam constanter singula etiam in epistolis suis proferat diceus in semetipsum, "Quae vidimus oculis nostris et auribus audivimus et manus nostrae palpaverunt, haec scripsimus." Sic enim non solem visorem, sed et auditorem, sed et scriptorem omnium mirabilium domini per ordinem profitetur.

St. Jerome clearly knew this tradition when he described St. John as being urged by the Bishops of Asia to write upon our Saviour's Divinity and as replying that he would do so if they would all keep a fast and pray for his guidance: "Quo (jejuno) expleto," adds St. Jerome, "revelatione saturatus, in illud proemium coelo veniens eructavit. In principio erat Verbum."—*Prologus in Quaest. Evangel.*

Yet if this tradition be true, and we see no reason to doubt it, what other character could St. John's Gospel have had than that which the Abbé has so strongly painted?

It was written by an eye-witness "saturatus revelatione." It was written, too, with a definite purpose. In St. John's own words:

But these are written that you may believe that Jesus is the Christ the Son of God: and that believing you may have life in his name (xx., 31).

It was, then, carefully planned and may therefore be said to be ideal. It was not to be a biography nor a "summa predicabilium." It was not to be a collection of miracles or of parables; it was not to present the Saviour as the rude Galilean crowd saw Him—"the wonder-worker." It was not to be complete as the story of His life:

Many other signs also did Jesus in the sight of his disciples, which are not written in this book (xx., 30).

It was not to dwell on the human side of His marvelous character. In a certain sense, too, it was not to be a life-like character, but it was to be a portrait of the Son of God, who

Was seen upon earth, and conversed with men (Baruch iii., 38)
and who showed Himself to be truly God:

Jesus of Nazareth, a man approved of God among you, by miracles and wonders and signs, which God did by him in the midst of you, as you also know. (Acts ii., 38.)

Again, tradition affirms that it was written in the Apostle's extreme old age. He had seen many of our Lord's prophecies come to pass, notably the fall of Jerusalem. He had, too, seen many fall away from the faith. He had passed through persecution; he had seen the springing up of more than one heresy. We might almost apply to him the words of his fiery predecessor, whose counterpart in some respects he was:

With zeal have I been zealous for the Lord God of hosts: for the children of Israel have forsaken thy covenant: they have thrown down thy altars, they have slain thy prophets with the sword, and I alone am left, and they seek my life to take it away. (III. Kings xix., 10.)

How, then, should not his Gospel be a theological meditation? How can he fail to be, as Loisy expresses it, "not the calculating dialectician, but the ardent mystic?"¹⁰

At the same time he is no dreamer; though "*saturatus revelatione*" he is not exempt from toil. He has to frame his story to the best of his power; he has to go back upon the past through fifty years of labor and persecution to the day when he was "called" by the bank of Jordan, when he asked: "Rabbi, where dwellest thou?" and received the gracious answer, "Come and see." It was no difficult task to recall those scenes, for they were his habitual meditation. The only difficulty lay in selecting from the crowding memories those most suited to his purpose. And how different those scenes of long ago must have looked viewed through the vista of fifty years replete with experiences! Then his faith had been forming, bit by bit the amazing truth was forcing itself upon him: "Truly this is the Son of God!" Then he handled Him and looked upon Him with his eyes; he leant upon His breast and his just-awakened faith per-

¹⁰ *Études Évangéliques.*

haps only half realized the awful truth. Then he was but a Galilean fisherman looking with doubt and yet with awe upon One who then seemed almost as one of themselves. And now he is a pillar of His glorious Church, and every day brings home to him more and more intensely what a privilege his has been. Day by day as he lives in that hallowed past the events of those all too short three years and a half take new shape and assume a deeper significance. Their meaning escaped him then; now he sees it clearly. Actions, words, gestures, then deemed trivial, are now realized to have been Divine, symbolic of the future and of what lay hidden in the bosom of time—those fifty years that have passed. Then he was fiery and eager and something of the spirit of Elias was in him and the Master had called him Boanerges. Now he is old and mellowed and the spirit of Another who had said: "Learn of Me, for I am meek and humble of heart" had passed into him. And His own countrymen, who had so longed for His coming, had not understood Him and had rejected Him! And now, too, heresies are springing up within His own sheepfold, for whose unity He had prayed, and some have already shown that they never really understood Him:

Little children, it is the last hour: and as you have heard that Antichrist cometh: even now there are become many Antichrists: whereby we know that it is the last hour:

They went out from us; but they were not of us. For if they had been of us, they would no doubt have remained with us: but that they may be manifest, that they are not all of us. (I. John ii., 18-19.)

His own Holy City had rejected Him, and yet how He had wrought and taught in its streets!

Jerusalem, Jerusalem, that killest the prophets, and stonest them that are sent to thee, how often would I have gathered thy children as the bird doth her brood under her wings, and thou wouldst not?

Behold your house shall be left to you desolate. And I say to you, that you shall not see me till the time come, when you shall say: Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord. (St. Luke xiii., 34-35.)

The Holy City had been His goal; all else had been but preparatory to its evangelization. Elsewhere He had labored long, but in different fashion. His preaching had been to the poor and illiterate, to the publicans and sinners. He had gone about doing good. He made no claim for Himself; He only sought the welfare of the lost sheep of the house of Israel. He never declared His Divinity; He hid His Messianic character, for they would misunderstand it and would try to make Him a King according to their own mistaken ideas, and He had to win their hearts before He could show what kind of a King He really was. But in Jerusalem all was different. It was the stronghold of Rabbinical Judaism, with its legalism and its Pharisaic traditions. They were the "masters in Israel," and ought to understand these things. They had had John's preaching to prepare for His coming, hence He needs not to

feel His way with them, but straightway He reveals Himself to them in unmistakable terms:

But I said unto you, that you also have seen me, and you believe not (vi., 36).

And you will not come to me that you may have life (v., 40).

They said therefore to him, Who art thou? Jesus said to them: The beginning, who also speak unto you.

Many things I have to speak and to judge of you. But he that sent me is true: and the things I have heard of him, these same I speak in the world. And they understood not that he called God his father (viii., 25).

That which my Father hath given me, is greater than all: and no one can snatch them out of the hand of my Father.

I and the Father are one.

The Jews then took up stones to stone him.

Jesus answered them: Many good works I have shewed you from my Father; for which of those works do you stone me?

The Jews answered him: For a good work we stone thee not, but for blasphemy; and because that thou, being a man, makest thyself God (x., 29-33)?

It was official Judaism which rejected Him; the people as a whole welcomed Him:

Of that multitude therefore, when they had heard these words of his, some said: This is the prophet indeed.

Others said: This is the Christ. But some said: Doth the Christ come out of Galilee?

Doth not the scripture say: That Christ cometh of the seed of David, and from Bethlehem the town where David was?

So there arose a dissension among the people because of him.

And some of them would have apprehended him: but no man laid hands upon him.

The ministers therefore came to the chief priests and the Pharisees. And they said to them: Why have you not brought him?

The ministers answered: Never did man speak like this man.

The Pharisees therefore answered them: Are you also seduced?

Hath any one of the rulers believed in him, or of the Pharisees?

But this multitude that knoweth not the law, are accursed.

Nicodemus said to them, he that came to him by night, who was one of them:

Doth our law judge any man, unless it first hear him, and know what he doth?

They answered, and said to him: Art thou also a Galilean? Search the scriptures, and see that out of Galilee a prophet riseth not (vii., 40-52).

But it was precisely to official Judaism, viz.: to the Holy City itself, that His most open and emphatic statements had been made, and the result by the time St. John wrote had become historic. This enables us to understand why the Fourth Gospel centres round Jerusalem; why, if the Evangelist gives us a Galilean episode, he brings back our Blessed Lord immediately to Jerusalem. His theme is His Divinity and His rejection by those to whom He made the claim and who ought to have recognized Him. To the Galileans He made no such claim, at least explicitly; to the priests and scribes of Jerusalem He reiterated His claim. Hence for St. John's purpose the scene of his Gospel must be laid in Judaea.

His pictures are symbolical by force of the symbolical nature of the actions they depict. His discourses are rather for his readers than such as the actors in them would have grasped, for the simple reason that they are viewed by him through the perspection of fifty

years of meditation on them, fifty years during which much of their innermost truth has been manifested.

But why should we say that they are, therefore, not historical? Even if the Evangelist had not shown a scrupulous anxiety to be historical by providing us with an historical framework such as we find in no other Gospel, not even in that of St. Luke, we should not be justified in doubting his historicity. It is, perhaps, impossible to deny that he knew the Synoptic narrative, but it is surely equally impossible to prove that he had it before him as he wrote. Is it not far more probable that he knew it rather in the form of an oral catechesis which was but vaguely present to his mind as he wrote? And do his statements go so diametrically contrary to those of the Synoptists as is often roundly asserted? Is it so impossible for the cleansing of the Temple to have taken place twice? Is it beyond all bounds of probability that, on the supposition that it did only occur once, the account now found in the Synoptists should be out of place? After all, the Synoptic framework is not a three-fold authority, but only one which therefore cannot outweigh the authority of the Fourth Gospel. And if his data with regard to the last Passover do conflict with those of the Synoptists—though it should not be forgotten that it is quite possible to harmonize them—why should we not see in this a correction on the part of one whose account is stamped with the evidence of minute care with regard to times and events as a cursory reading of only the first four chapters will show?

So much for the narratives in the Fourth Gospel. The question as to the nature of the discourses is a delicate one. "They are written for the sake of their readers, not for the supposed auditory," is the verdict of the Abbé Loisy. But surely there is nothing new in such a view. Indeed, it is necessitated by the above-given circumstances of the Gospel's composition. It was compiled as a Gospel to be read and meditated upon. In the Abbé's own words: "I use the first three Gospels for the story of our Saviour's life, and the fourth to explain it."¹¹ And we cordially welcome his remark that "the Fourth Gospel is essentially a book of faith. The faith of the Church which inspired it is to be recognized in it. I do not in any sense account it as an alteration, but as an interpretation of the history. It is the pearl of the New Testament, and the author has not deceived us in giving it to us as a work of the Holy Spirit, for it is truly in the spirit of Jesus Christ." But we cannot agree with him when he adds: "I will venture, however, to say that he represents that spirit for us by transfiguring the body."¹² He is

¹¹ *Autour d'un Petit Livre*, p. 106.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 107.

led to this conclusion by an examination of our Lord's discourses: "In His teaching the Johannine Christ is always represented as speaking in parables, and the Evangelist, who interpreted the Synoptic parables allegorically, probably did not perceive that his own parables belonged to a different category. For in his Gospel Christ propounds heavenly truths under earthly symbols. The whole economy of the discourses and the arrangement of the dialogues rests upon this idea of a parable with double signification. Each time the Johannine Christ sets Himself to teach, whether He addresses Nicodemus or the Samaritan woman or the Jews in general or His own disciples, He begins by setting forth a proposition which contains under some sensible and symbolic image a religious truth. His audience misunderstands the significance of the symbol, which they take literally, but Jesus instead of explaining the equivocation, His equivocal words follows up the development of His allegory so persistently that His questioners know no more, as a rule, at the end of the conversation than they did at the beginning. The reader, however, has received just the instruction which the Evangelist proposed to give him."

Even if we accept this rather too absolute statement it surely does not, as the Abbé would have us conclude, follow that such discourses are purely fictional.¹³ Whoever supposed that the Gospel accounts of our Lord's doings or sayings were complete? Is the sermon on the Mount—if it be one whole sermon—complete? Or that on the plain? Is St. Matthew's chapter on Christ's preaching of the kingdom by means of parables any more than a resumé?¹⁴

Besides the statement is too absolute. Nicodemus took our Lord's words about re-birth literally. Our Lord explains Himself at once. So also when the Jews cavilled at His saying that Abraham rejoiced to see His day He explained His words by the doctrine of His preëxistence, and they clearly understood what He meant, for they took up stones to stone Him.¹⁵ Why? Because, as on another occasion, His words implied His Divinity.¹⁶

The more acceptable view of the Fourth Gospel seems to be that the discourses and the narratives stand on very different planes. The object of the Gospel is the Divinity of Christ, as shown by Christ's own teaching on the subject. His discourses, then, are the main feature, but they were not chance discourses, but arose out of some incident, either some question addressed Him by one of the crowd, as is so often the case in the Synoptists, or some visible object before their eyes as they conversed suggested a train of

¹³ *Autour d'un Petit Livre*, p. 105.

¹⁴ St. Matthew xiii.

¹⁵ St. John viii., 56-59.

¹⁶ X., 30-33.

thought as, for instance, the discourse on the judgment which arose out of a chance remark of His disciples about the huge stones and precious ex-votos of the Temple. (St. Luke xxi., 5 ff.)

In the Fourth Gospel it is more often a miracle worked by our Lord which furnishes the theme for His discourse and a similar usage is to be found in the Synoptists. (St. Luke xiii.) The events, however, which thus served as the starting point for the discourses were unchangeable. They were facts of which many had been witnesses, but the discourses themselves had necessarily to be presented by the Evangelist in such a way as should best convey their teaching to his readers. But he is writing in Asia in the midst of Greek culture and Greek philosophy. He is writing, too, for men who, like St. Paul's Athenians, needed carefully worded teaching. Hence the Greek dress of so many discourses in the Fourth Gospel. Hence their dialectical and suggestive form, more apparent, perhaps, in the discourses at the Last Supper than in the earlier ones. A very good instance of this is furnished us in the sixteenth chapter :

But I tell you the truth: it is expedient to you that I go: for if I go not, the Paraclete will not come to you: but if I go, I will send him to you.

And when he is come, he will convince the world of sin, and of justice, and of judgment.

Of sin: because they believed not in me.

And of justice: because I go to the Father; and you shall see me no longer.

And of judgment: because the prince of this world is already judged.

But can we therefore suppose that a similar transformation has taken place in the narrative portion of the Gospel? Has St. John metamorphosed or transposed or even invented events and miracles in our Lord's life, and this for the sake of conveying to us his doctrine more easily? This is precisely the point of the Abbé Loisy's criticisms. In words quoted above, he lays down very clearly that "the narratives of the Fourth Gospel are purely symbolic and the historical data found therein are not there because of the primitive character of these accounts, but for the sake of the significance attached to them."¹⁷

And this presumably is the cause of his books being put upon the Index. To deny the historicity of the Gospel narrative is to shake the foundations of the Gospel teaching, however much the Abbé may deny this. Perhaps we hardly realize the extent to which we are indebted to St. John's Gospel for the chronology of our Lord's life; but certainly if we had only the Synoptic narrative we should find it hard to extend His public mission beyond one year. Much has been written upon the character of ocular testimony stamped upon St. John's narratives. It would take us beyond our space to enlarge upon these proofs now, but a

¹⁷ Autour d'un Petit Livre, p. 104.

careful reading of chapters ii., vi. and xix., to omit many others, will bring conviction to the minds of most readers. Indeed, have we not his own explicit testimony that he was an eye-witness to the events he narrates?

But one of the soldiers with a spear opened his side, and immediately there came out blood and water.

And he that saw it hath given testimony: and his testimony is true. And he knoweth that he saith true; that you also may believe (xix., 34-35).

And a little later:

This saying therefore went abroad among the brethren, that that disciple should not die. And Jesus did not say to him: He should not die; but, So I will have him to remain till I come, what is it to thee?

This is that disciple who giveth testimony of these things, and hath written these things: and we know that his testimony is true.

But there are also many other things which Jesus did: which if they were written every one, the world itself, I think, would not be able to contain the books that should be written (xxi., 23-25).

It is worth noticing that the former passage refers to the breaking of our Lord's legs—an episode which the Abbé rejects!

To sum up, then, we may say that the Evangelist aims at presenting our Lord's Divinity to the world of his age, *i. e.*, the end of the first century A. D. He takes our Lord's discourses as the main medium for conveying his teaching, and those discourses he gives as sequels to various events in our Saviour's life. Those events are indelibly imprinted on his memory, for they formed the background of all his thoughts and had constituted a crisis in his life. He narrates them with the simplicity and minuteness of detail, and, let us add, with the independence of an eye-witness. Yet they are not told for their own value, and the characters who are thus brought upon the scene merely flit across the stage and we are left in ignorance of their subsequent future proceedings. The events are given for the sake of the annexed discourses, all of which turn upon the theme of the Divine mission and Divine character of the speaker. They are cast in a mould suited to the time at which the Apostle wrote, for they constitute, not a record of the contemporaries of the actors in those wondrous scenes, but a series of tableaux putting before an attentive and meditative reader the Lord's own teaching about Himself. To repeat once more the author's own words:

Many other signs also did Jesus in the sight of his disciples, which are not written in this book.

But these are written that you may believe that Jesus is the Christ the Son of God: and that believing you may have life in his name (xx., 30-31).

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THE PICTORIAL ART OF THE CATACOMBS.

WHEN the great master of Christian archæology, Giovanni Battista de Rossi, passed to his eternal rest ten years ago in the Papal Villa of Castel Gandolfo, it was feared that the science to which his life had been devoted died with him. Happily such was not the case; he himself had provided for the continuance of his work. As the Rev. Dr. Shahan, the illustrious professor of ecclesiastical history in the Catholic University, of Washington, has written in this REVIEW: though de Rossi was never a professor, "one will look in vain for a nearer approach in our day to the old Hellenic teachers or the great scholastics of the Middle Ages, who lived in the tenderest intimacy with their pupils. His real chair was in the depth of the Catacombs or in the Lateran galleries." And as a consequence he had numerous disciples and followers. Some, like Marucchi, Stevenson, Armellini, De Waal, Father Germano, Kirsch and Wilpert, gave themselves up seriously and devotedly under his immediate direction to the study of Christian antiquities or to a kindred subject; and a much more numerous class, in which was the present writer, was quite content to listen and to learn from the lips of the master the wondrous and fascinating story of early Christian Rome as illustrated by its monuments. This was conveyed at times in viva-voce "demonstrations" in the Catacombs that surround the Eternal City on the feast days of saints originally buried in them; and again in conferences on Christian archæology in the library of the Academy of Noble Ecclesiastics at the Minerva, or recorded for the benefit of all in the pages of the "*Bullettino di Archeologia Cristiana*," published by De Rossi. Though no one individual is provided with sufficient knowledge and experience to fill the place left vacant by the death of De Rossi, yet the pupils who have studied under him, and who by long acquaintance with him have acquired his methods, continue to contribute to the advancement of the science which he developed.

Amongst those who have followed most closely in the footsteps of the master, Monsignor Joseph Wilpert is distinguished for the exactness and thoroughness of his labors and for the admirable quality of concentration he has employed in his work. The field of his study embraces the art of the Catacombs. The book which he has recently produced and which is dedicated to the new Pontiff, Pope Pius X., is an exhaustive study of the pictorial art of the subterranean Christian cemeteries which surround the Eternal City, "*The Paintings of the Roman Catacombs*." It may be described as a complete and scientific account of the immense underground pic-

ture gallery which was formed between the latter half of the first century and the early part of the fifth century of the Christian era, with a few additions of later dates. The work of Wilpert is the admirable outcome of close and persistent study and observation carried on during fifteen years in the depths of the galleries and chambers of the Catacombs by the faint flickering of the tapers' light or by the more brilliant but briefer illumination of incandescent magnesium wire. The laborious investigations, the results of which are chronicled in this great book, have been carried on by the author in person, and every author whose writings might contribute to the elucidation of the pictures and the stories they reveal has been carefully consulted. In the preface to his work the author declares that the first idea of it came to him from the lamented Giovanni Battista de Rossi, "whom," he says, "I cannot sufficiently thank for the encouragement and counsel given to me. I accepted the more willingly the suggestion of the ever-to-be-remembered master, the more so as from the beginning of my archæological studies I was deeply persuaded that the copies of the cemeterial [or Catacombs] frescoes previously published had need of a radical revision on account of their lack of fidelity."

The Italian edition of Wilpert's work—there is another edition in German—bears on the title page, "Roma Sotterranea. Le Pitture delle Catacombe Romane, illustrate da Giuseppe Wilpert. Con 54 incisioni nel testo e 267 tavole. Roma, Desclée, Lefebvre & Co. (Librai-editori), 1903." This epoch-making work consists of two folio volumes, the first containing the text, the second the 267 illustrative plates, half of this number being reproduced in colors. Taken all in all, the whole production, text and plates, constitutes a noble example of Roman learning and Roman art. The researches of students who trace the history of the arts that are in a special way the growth and the flower of Christianity lead them back to the Catacombs as the cradle and source of Christian art. Here the simple direct symbolism of that art begins, and from here it may be followed onward through the centuries until our own times, when we see several attempts made to return to the spirit and methods of the antique period as the most sincere and expressive.

The character of early Christian art, and especially that of the Catacombs, has been regarded by English historians of art as of little esthetic account. "The gradual decay of pictorial skill during the centuries which preceded the fall of the Western Empire," says the newest edition (1903) of Crowe & Cavalcaselle's "History of Painting in Italy," "has been variously attributed to the degeneracy of the Romans and the spread of Christian doctrines." Less prejudiced writers treat the question with more consideration. Who

is it, asks Father Vincenzo Marchese, the learned author of "Memoirs of the Most Illustrious Painters of the Dominican Order," "that does not admire the sublime origin of Christian art, beholding it making its first step forward amidst the gloom of the sepulchres; scattering flowers on the tombs of the martyrs; following religion in the midst of weapons and executioners, and handing down their names and their deeds to the remotest posterity?" One of De Rossi's pupils, the late Mariano Armellini, has noted that the origin of cemeterial painting coincides with the origin of the Christian cemeteries; therefore it goes back to the period in which classic art was in full flower. Thus it is that the most ancient Christian cemeteries, or Catacombs, feel all the influence of classicism, in beauty of style, in simplicity of conception, in elegance of decoration and in delicacy of ornament. Thus it happens that the sight of many of these earlier works brings to the mind of the traveler recollections of the paintings he may have seen at Pompeii or the adornments that are still faintly visible on the walls of the Baths of Titus at Rome.

It was the custom amongst the peoples of antiquity to decorate with a certain elaboration of sculpture and painting the tombs of those that were dear to them. The traveler in Italy will find abundant examples of this practice in the necropolis of well-nigh every city of ancient Etruria, and the immediate vicinity of Rome supplies examples of stuccoed or painted tombs. Such method of honoring their dead was in the ordinary practice of the people. There was, therefore, no special reason why the Romans in becoming Christians should forsake this custom of their ancestors, so far as the adornment was innocent in itself and devoid of indications of honor rendered to the gods of paganism then worshiped in Rome. Indeed, some recent writers consider that this practice of art by the Christians in the Catacombs tended to delay the inevitable decline that came upon it later. That scholarly critic and historian of art, M. Georges Lafenestre, notes that it was far from the bright sunshine, in the subterranean cemeteries, where the early Christians interred their first martyrs, that at this same period a proximate renovation of painting, then in its decline, was prepared. Christian art appears in Rome almost at the same time as the Christian faith. The Catacombs—these cemeteries authorized by law, as De Rossi makes evident—have preserved upon the walls of their subterranean corridors and chambers paintings, some of which go back as far as the first century of the Christian era.

The old idea that the Christians were hostile to art has passed away. Not only was that idea a false one, but the older the sepulchral chambers are the more adorned are they. Wilpert de-

clares that Christianity, at the beginning of its propagation in Rome, found art at a relatively high grade. "As it was not within its mission nor its force to find a new language, so it was likewise absolutely impossible for it to create, by a single effort, a thoroughly new art." And there was no reason why it should not make use instead of the old language and the prevailing art, so far as these were not in contradiction with its doctrine and its morals. During the early period Christian art differs in little from pagan art: the same style, the same methods and sometimes even the same subjects are common to both. The *cubicula* of the Catacomb of Saint Domitilla, says Lafenestre, are almost contemporary with the tombs of the Via Latina and the sepulchre of the Nasones on the Flaminian Way. They present almost the same decoration. How can we be surprised at this resemblance when we remember that certain artists, newly converted, continued to work for pagans at the same time that they were working for Christians? Besides, this style of decoration, on account of the scruples and hesitancy which the horror of idolatry would inspire, continued for a considerable time to be simply ornamental or decorative. Wreaths of flowers, amidst which little genii are dancing, architectural fantasies and imaginary landscapes such as are frequent in Pompeian pictures, are the prevailing motives. Sometimes real figures appear, but these generally are allegorical, such as gardeners, reapers, vine-gatherers and olive-gatherers, as representatives of the four seasons. Then there are other designs which fill up what would otherwise be vacant spaces in vaults: gazelles, panthers, dolphins, hippocampi, painted on a red or white ground between colonettes, festoons and symmetrically placed vases. Bearded tritons and winged cupids are also introduced. These were the ordinary adornments of the time, and they continued in use down to the fourth century, as may be seen on the walls of the house of SS. John and Paul on the Coelian Hill, excavated a few years ago by the Rev. Father Germano di S. Stanislao, Passionist, where pagan and Christian subjects adorned the rooms inhabited by these noble Christian martyrs.*

The time is past, as Wilpert points out, when these Catacomb paintings were described as "wretched creations, in which the poverty of invention was equaled only by the defect of execution." And he insists that, as artistic creations they have a right to special consideration, not only because they constitute an important link in the chain of the universal history of art, but also because they enter into the field when the wall paintings of Herculaneum and Pompeii cease, and they mark, in uninterrupted succession during four centuries the progress, or rather the decline, of Roman paint-

* La Casa Celimontana dei SS. Martiri Giovanni e Paolo, etc. Roma 1894.

ing. Mr. Dalton, in his learned Guide to the Early Christian and Byzantine Antiquities in the British Museum, points out that the style of art in the Catacombs is that of contemporary pagan Rome adapted to new conditions and modified in accordance with Christian ideas. It participated in the gradual decay of Roman art.

The art of the Catacombs is almost solely that of painting. Painting has had the honor of expressing the first Christian inspirations, and in spite of ruin and decay and irreparable losses, it has handed down to our days numerous suggestions of the pious fervor prevailing in the age of the martyrs. These paintings, which are entirely in fresco, a process of painting on freshly-laid plaster lime whilst it remains damp with colors that resist the caustic action of the lime, may be regarded as written hieroglyphs by which, as Wilpert puts it, "the Christian manifested by preference his religious ideas relative to the future life, his faith and his hopes." These constitute the scope and limit of this art of the cemeteries. Symbolism, the characteristic of all ancient religious teaching, was the bond which held the artists of the Catacombs in the unity of composition and treatment of the subjects they painted in these subterranean corridors and chambers. It constituted a language for them and for those for whom they wrought. The ordinary visitor to Rome nowadays, who descends for half an hour or so into the depths of these subterranean cemeteries, his path lighted by a few feeble tapers, and led along these strange galleries by a monk, is probably possessed by fear mingled with awe. The faint frescoes on the walls of chambers here and there are not striking works of art; their symbolism may not be clear to him by his lack of familiarity with its mode of expression; and thus the impression left upon his mind is that an unpleasant duty, with strange memories associated with it, has been duly fulfilled. It is only by repeated visits and by a study of the symbols made use of by the early Christians in these frescoes that the full joy of a visit to the Catacombs is reached, when the visitor reads with readiness the meanings of the symbols, recognizes at a glance the subjects of the pictures and then feels the religious sentiments that underlie them and make them so memorable.

In a previous work ("Ein Cyclus Christologischer Gemälde") Wilpert presents us with the account of what feelings might animate a visitor to the Catacombs in the early ages and the meanings he would read in what he beheld there. "Let us suppose," he wrote, "that a son should visit the sepulchre of his mother which is found in *cubiculum* 54 of the Catacombs of SS. Peter and Marcellinus. His eyes look upon the paintings; in the midst of the vault he sees Christ the Judge dominant, surrounded by saints; and around he

sees the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin, the Baptism of Christ, the Magi led by the star and the offering of their gifts, the Good Shepherd and the Orante or figure standing in prayer with the arms spread out; he beholds the three miraculous healings: of the blind man, of the woman with the issue of blood and of the paralytic, and together with that the scene at the well of Jacob. The individual pictures raise in his mind ideas of what they relate to; the thoughts are translated into words, and the words assume the form of prayer. This prayer might closely resemble one of the following tenor: O Lord Jesus, light of the departed, remember my dear mother! Permit not that darkness may ever encompass her soul. She has believed in Thee; all her hope is in Thee, since Thou art the promised Messiah. Thou art the Light of the World, the true God, to whom alone belongs honor and adoration. In order that we might be illuminated and redeemed—we who were faithless—Thou didst assume a human body of the Holy Virgin Mary, and wast baptized in the Jordan. Thou hast heaped upon humanity abundance of benefits, Thou hast given health to the lame and the paralytic; refresh likewise the soul of my dear mother! Be not a severe Judge to her, but benignantly regard the glorious merits of the saints, who at Thy tribunal intercede for her. As Thou hast carried the lost sheep on Thy shoulders to the sheepfold, so receive her soul also in the company of the elect and lead her into the fields of eternal light. Dear mother, live in God and pray for me.”

It must be borne in mind that the aim or scope of the sacred representations of the Catacombs is not didactic; “they contain an exhortation and a guide to pray for the dead reposing in the sepulchres whose names are recorded in the inscriptions.” They express also the *credo* of those who had them painted. To interpret their meaning truly it should always be borne in mind that these paintings adorn graves, and that funeral symbolism is wholly dominated and penetrated by the idea of eternal salvation. “Everything, mediately or immediately,” says our author, “is referred to the person dead, for whom the frescoes were painted. . . . This person is the centre around which all moves; from him should depart the interpretation and ever return again to him. . . . That which the painters of the Catacombs figure forth is naturally almost always easily and commonly understood; the contents of the work should correspond to the simple form of the composition. Hence, so much the more does an interpretation abandon simplicity and so much the more intricate is it, the less probability it has for itself.”

The subjects of the paintings are derived from the Sacred Scriptures. They deal principally with death and eternal life. The very

simple symbol of the anchor, painted in so many varieties, suggested hope to the Christian eyes that looked upon it. The sheep or lamb, also frequent, is a figure either of our Blessed Lord, "the Lamb of God, who taketh away the sins of the world," as Northcote describes it in his enumeration of symbols; or of ourselves, who are God's sheep; and the dove, as representing the Third Person of the Blessed Trinity, and also the holy souls sanctified by His indwelling presence. The dove is frequently painted with a branch of olive in his mouth, and this suggests the everlasting peace of heaven which the just man has reached. These symbols have been adopted far beyond the limits of the Catacombs, and are readily recognized wherever they are employed. It is not so with others, for example, with that of the fish, which as a sacred symbol is common in the Catacombs, and is of supreme importance. The fish, as Northcote, interpreting De Rossi, puts it, entered into the cycle of Christian thought and art in primitive times, partly because Christians owed their new and spiritual birth to the element of water; partly because Christ Himself was commonly spoken of under the mysterious name of the fish. It is believed that this symbol was in use even in Apostolic times, and that it suggested that famous acrostic quoted by Eusebius and St. Augustine from the so-called Sibylline verses—now recognized as the work of an Egyptian Jew of the epoch of Marcus Aurelius—which gives us, by taking the initial letters of so many successive lines, the Greek words: *ΙΗΣΟΥΣ ΧΡΕΙΣΤΟΣ ΘΕΟΥ ΥΙΟΣ ΣΟΤΗΡ*, "Jesus Christ, Son of God, Saviour;" and then the initials of these several words taken together make up the *ΙΧΘΥΣ*, or "fish." It is constantly presented in the symbolical representations of the Eucharist, and is perhaps the most important amongst the various Catacomb pictures.

The most ancient representation of the Eucharist, as Wilpert makes known, is that of the "Fractio Panis," or "Breaking of Bread," which he brought to light after three weeks' labor in washing off with acids the calcareous incrustations covering the wall on which it had been painted, and which were the slow growth of centuries. It dates from the beginning of the second century, and is above the sepulchre altar in the "Greek Chapel" of the Catacomb of Saint Priscilla on the Salarian Way—that altar on which the holy sacrifice was offered. "A benign disposition of Providence," writes the learned discoverer of this most interesting fresco, "had spared it from the fate of the greater part of the well-preserved frescoes, which were victims of the avidity of seekers of antiquities and so perished; it was hidden beneath a thick crust of stalactites, from which I delivered it. The picture places before our eyes the very moment in which the Bishop *breaks the consecrated bread* to give it,

together with the wine, likewise consecrated, in communion to the faithful present at the ceremony." Here, the author tells us, we are in presence of a liturgical painting which goes back to the time in which the Apostolic term "the breaking of bread"—*fractio panis*—was still in use. The scene, however, is not exclusively realistic; the painter, with great ability, has made use of the Eucharistic symbol of the miraculous feeding of the multitude, to explain with determined clearness the actual subject, painting together with the liturgical chalice *two plates*, one with *two fishes* and the other with *five loaves*, and at the left extremity *four* and at the right *three* baskets of bread filled even to the brim. He represents the *faithful* with the multitude (five men and one woman) reclining at table; therefore the woman appears with her *head covered*, whilst the women who participate in the heavenly banquet have always their heads *uncovered*. Finally, the "president" who breaks the bread is not reclining as the others are; but, separated from the others, *he sits more forward* in presence of the Eucharistic chalice. In such a way the picture was characterized as liturgical—Eucharistic with a precision which excludes all doubt. This interesting account of the earliest representation existing in the Catacombs of the Eucharistic Sacrifice presents the picture to the eyes of the mind, and those who may not see the actual picture can form an image of it to themselves. The fish and the loaves in the miracle by which our Lord fed those who came out to listen to His words form the themes of many pictures. In the Crypt of Lucina, an early section of the great Catacomb of St. Callixtus, are seen the two fish with the Eucharistic species. In the ancient Chapels of the Sacraments in the Callixtian Catacomb the multiplication of the loaves and fishes, and the feeding of the multitude, are repeated several times. Then again there is the banquet of the seven Disciples at the altar table. The account of this banquet is given by St. John, who precedes it with that of the miraculous draught of fishes. And so the theme is told over and over again.

The frequent repetition of the same subjects indicates how deeply these had entered into the thoughts of the people as suitable symbols for sepulchral adornment. They had created a new cycle of subjects, taken from Biblical incidents, which had never previously been represented in art. Nor did they think of representing the Biblical fact as such—as a historical painting—but only in its relation to those who slept in the tombs which were adorned with these paintings. These themes over and over again are represented by: Moses striking the rock whence the spring of water flows—he is one of the few personages of the Old Testament represented in the costume reserved in Christian art to sacred figures; Noah in the Ark; Daniel

in the den of lions; the three Hebrew children in the fiery furnace, to whom the Angel of the Lord descended to save them from the flames; the paralytic, who, when healed by our Lord, took up his bed and walked; the resurrection of Lazarus, indicating that the Christian who has passed away and is laid in the tomb awaits the resurrection through Christ victorious over death; and the sacrifice of Abraham, in which the patriarch is represented holding the knife in his right hand and with his left laid upon the shoulder of Isaac.

Amongst other frequent subjects are those in which Christ is the chief figure, what Wilpert terms "Christological Pictures." In the representations of Jesus Christ together with the Blessed Virgin, the series opens with that very celebrated picture, "The Prophecy of Isaiah." Wilpert considers that its "principal mission is to make luminously evident the Incarnation of the Son of God." Isaiah predicted the birth from a virgin. "Behold a virgin shall conceive and bear a son, and his name shall be called Emmanuel." The same prophet glorifies the *light* which will arise upon Jerusalem at the birth of Emmanuel and Kings will walk in its brightness. "These prophecies inspired the celebrated picture of the Catacombs of Saint Priscilla," says Wilpert. De Rossi, in a special publication issued in 1863 described and illustrated this notable work, and the Rev. Dr. Shahan, of the Catholic University, has summarized in a charming little volume, "The Blessed Virgin in the Catacombs," the leading features of this "earliest and most important" of the frescoes of the Blessed Virgin in these cemeterial recesses. The picture, as Dr. Shahan describes it, "represents a female figure seated and nursing a little child. She is dressed as a matron, with pallium and veil. Before her stands a youthful figure holding in his left hand a scroll and pointing with the right to a star." The star is above the head of the female figure, and has eight rays, which signify the *light* predicted by Isaiah; and as Wilpert describes it, "it is the symbol of Christ, the true light, who came into the world to enlighten the human race." In two other frescoes the star has the form of the monogram of Christ. This picture is, as Dr. Shahan described it, "of the highest antiquity," and by common consent deemed no later than the age of the Antonines (A. D. 150-180), while, he adds, "there is every reason to believe that it belongs to the latter half of the first century (A. D. 50-100). Its artistic conception, the bold and free execution, the accurate drawing, the anatomical skill, the large and ample treatment of the details, strike the transient observer." De Rossi in his very rare "Images de la T. S. Vierge choisies dans les Catacombes de Rome," 1863, relates that the picture was much clearer when he saw it for the first time in 1851. And he also tells here that "the fall of the plaster has almost

destroyed the lower part of the picture; the rest of it is not so much effaced as blackened by the smoke of the tapers necessary to visitors to the Catacombs." The present writer may add to this story of destruction that De Rossi told him years ago that visitors to this Catacomb of Saint Priscilla took a particular delight in knocking off from the wall fragments of the plaster on which the picture was painted.

Until a short time ago this picture of the Prophecy of Isaiah was the only one of its kind known. In the April of 1902 Monsignor Wilpert, as he tells us in his great work, had the good fortune to discover some fragments of a replica of the same subject in the ruins of an *arcosolium* of the Catacomb of Domitilla. However fragmentary they may be, he says, yet from these patches of painted plaster one may reconstruct with all certainty the entire group.

Amongst other examples of Christological pictures are the Adoration of the Magi—the first homage paid by the Gentile world to the Son of God, and one of the most touching and tender subjects in the whole range of Christian art. Then follows the Magi seeing the star, and the star in three scenes of the Adoration of the Magi. In this same class come Balaam's Prophecy, discovered by Wilpert under the stalactites which partially concealed what was supposed by Bosio to be the giving of the Law to Moses; the Prophecy of Micheas; the Magi with the Shepherds in one picture, and then the Presepio, or Manger. "The Catacomb of St. Sebastian, so poor in pictures, preserves for us one characteristic fresco," writes Wilpert. It is that of the manger, first announced by De Rossi, in which the Child Jesus, wrapped in swaddling clothes, is laid in a simple manger supported on four posts, and the heads of the ox and the ass so generally introduced into this scene overlook the rude receptacle in which the Infant reposes. A head of a full-grown Christ, with nimbus around it, dominates the scene and gives it character and explanation. The Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin is comparatively rare in the Catacombs. M. André Peraté, in "*L'Archéologie Chrétienne*," relates that this gracious scene, which the artists of the Middle Ages treated with such affection, is represented only once in the Catacombs on a ceiling of the Cemetery of Priscilla; it dates from the second century, and should be beautiful, but to-day it is almost unrecognizable. This was the only Annunciation known in the Catacombs until Wilpert in his "*Cyclus*," already mentioned, published in 1891, gave to the world the other similar Annunciation, of the third century, discovered by him in *cubiculum* 54 in the Cemetery of SS. Peter and Marcellinus, and which has, as he says, rendered impossible every objection put forward against the attribution of the similar picture—the Annunciation in the Catacomb of Pris-

cilla—by certain erudite Germans. The only thing which distinguishes the one from the other of the two frescoes is the form of the back of the chair on which the Blessed Virgin sits, which in the Priscilla picture terminates in a straight line, whilst in the other it is rounded.

The Blessed Mother with the Child Jesus in her lap is seen at the imposition of the veil on a virgin consecrated to God, a very important picture in the Catacomb of Saint Priscilla. Mary represented as an *Orante* holding the Child Jesus in her arms is one of the most notable frescoes in the Cemeterium Majus, known until recently as that of Ostrianus. The attribution here also was questioned, but further investigation has confirmed the accuracy of the first title. Again, as one studies the evidences of these subterranean galleries, other indications of the belief and faith of their framers and of those who were laid to rest in them come to light. Here is a series of frescoes showing Christ as the worker of miracles, healing the woman with an issue of blood, the paralytic, the man blind from birth, the leper and the demoniac; in other pictures Christ is manifested as the Messiah in conversation with the Samaritan woman, and again in scenes taken from the Passion, such as that of the Crowning with Thorns—a simple composition, but conceived in a style thoroughly classic, dating from the second century, and hence very different from later representations. Christ is seen also as the Shepherd, Master and Legislator: in the first office with His flock, a favorite theme, full of many artistic possibilities which have been used with picturesque variety, and as the Good Shepherd who carries the lost sheep home on His shoulders. Christ under the figure of Orpheus is also met with several times. The Christian people of Rome in the first age of the Church accepted this representation, taken from the old mythology, as innocent of tendencies towards idolatry and as befitting Him who subdued the stubborn hearts of sinners and brought peace into the world. This is the myth which Shakespeare embodies in the exquisite verses:

Orpheus with his lute made trees,
And the mountain tops that freeze,
Bow themselves when he did sing;
To his music, plants and flowers
Ever sprung; as sun, and showers,
There had been a lasting spring.

The Sacred Scriptures seemed to suggest a likeness between the work of Orpheus and of Christ, says Wilpert, the Prophet Isaiah describing the kingdom of the Messiah in terms which involuntarily recall to mind the fabulous achievements of Orpheus. Then, says the Prophet: "The wolf shall dwell with the lamb; and the leopard shall lie down with the kid; the calf and the lion and the sheep shall abide together, and a little child shall lead them."

Christ as Master of the Apostles, showing the Saviour in the midst of them, belongs to the fourth century, when more figures were used in the compositions. Christ teaching the Evangelists, in the Catacomb of SS. Marcus and Marcellianus, is a fresco in which Christ, according to the general acceptance of archæologists, is seen with four personages, recognized as the Four Evangelists. Christ consigning the law to Peter is of singular importance. "The grand plenitude of powers," says Wilpert, "with which the Saviour, when He founded the Church, distinguished the Prince of the Apostles above the other Apostles furnished a motive to the composition which represents the *consigning of the Law to Peter*, a subject which though relatively frequent in the sculpture of the sarcophagi, appears once only in the paintings of the Catacombs, in the ceiling of a *cubiculum* excavated in Saint Priscilla about the middle of the fourth century. "But two-thirds of this fresco are destroyed; and it is only recorded in a drawing which De Rossi had directed to be made of it and which is to be seen in his "Bullettino" for 1877. The loss of this picture is compensated for by the discovery made by Wilpert of a fresco in a *cubiculum* brought to light by himself, and dating from the second half of the third century, in the Catacomb known as "*ad duas lauros*," or SS. Peter and Marcellinus, on the Labican Way. "It represents S. Peter seated upon a low chair (*cathedra*), who is reading from a scroll. In this scene we have the first picture in which the Prince of the Apostles appears not as part of a group, but *alone*, as an independent figure. The artist, in painting him thus, wished to characterize him as the special mediator of the Lex Christi, as 'the legislator of the new alliance.'"

It would be a long task to follow the author of this great work through the many sections into which his most interesting text is divided. The isolated representations of Christ, which were created separately by the artists who wrought in these subterranean galleries, are mentioned in detail, from that in the Catacomb of Preteystatus—the most ancient of all—where He is seen reading from a scroll, to the latest in the fourth century. Then follows a full account of the Representations of Baptism, showing: The Act of Baptism; the Baptism of Christ; the Baptism of the Catechumen; the Symbols of Baptism, and the subjects so closely and intimately connected with it, such as the Evangelical Fisherman; the Healing of the Paralytic at the "*piscina probatica*," and the miraculous source of water flowing from the rock when struck by Moses. The scenes that express faith in the resurrection of the dead have an all-absorbing interest for Christians and therefore a prominent place in the series of Catacomb pictures. The resurrection of the dead is the first postulate for the future life. "But if there be no resurrection of

the dead," writes St. Paul, "then Christ is not risen again. And if Christ be not risen again, then is our preaching vain, and your faith is also vain." Hence the resurrection of Lazarus, in the number of its repetitions—being found over fifty times—is one of the most important themes met with and one of the most ancient. Monsignor Wilpert furnishes a complete guide to the *fifty-three* existing representations of the resurrection of Lazarus in the Roman Catacombs. The seasons of the year, which are occasionally met with, are considered an ancient symbol of the resurrection of the flesh. The resurrection of Jairus' daughter, of which only one representation exists in the Catacombs, is also of this series. Scenes relating to sin and death are afterwards described, and amongst these is the not infrequent picture of the sin of our first parents in the earthly paradise, and the denial of our Lord by St. Peter. Of the first subject sixteen specimens are recorded. The latter picture is in the Catacomb of St. Cyriacus on the tomb of a virgin dedicated to God. Christ, on the right of the spectator, is seen holding up His right hand, of which the three first fingers are extended, indicative of the number of denials; on the left is Peter, a smaller figure, with his right hand elevated as though in protest of fidelity; between the two, on a high column, the cock is seen crowing. The meaning of the picture is fully expressed, and with the most limited means.

The many themes that Christian art has treated in these simple, direct and fully intelligible compositions—intelligible to those for whom they were painted and by the light shed upon the story of Christianity in its beginnings, intelligible to students to-day—constitute a marvelous illustration of the beliefs and the hopes, one may say, of our ancestors in the faith. Representations of the judgment after death are also to be seen: the soul recommended by the saints at the tribunal of Christ, "the Communion of Saints;" the soul alone before the judgment seat; prayer for the admission of the dead to eternal bliss; Elias borne up into heaven, and the dead received into eternal rest from the Bark of the Church, which is sorely tossed by tempest. These and other pictures of ideas and subjects too numerous to be dwelt upon here furnish indications and even unmistakable evidences of the beliefs that animated the minds and the hopes that filled the hearts of the Christian people of Rome during the first four centuries of our era. Their identity with those which are the sustenance and inspiration of the Catholics of this twentieth century is so luminously evident that it could be mistaken only by one who is ignorant of the history of Christianity. The resemblances and similarities between the past and the present, which are made so clear to every one who thinks while reading Wilpert's great work, some home more pertinently to the reader at

a time when strange claims of continuity of doctrine and practice are made by many who reject the Catholic Church.

The actual condition of the paintings in the Catacombs, which are so admirably reproduced and so lucidly described in this great work, is characterized as "very deplorable." It is a question of secondary importance whether the fault of this lamentable state of things lies in the fresco or in the plaster in which the fresco is painted. Even De Rossi foresaw a not distant period when these valuable remains of ancient art would, "like the baseless fabric of this vision," dissolve and "leave not a wrack behind." He lamented this inevitable loss, declaring that in the Catacomb of St. Callixtus, the paintings when first discovered were dear in outline and brilliant in color, became, through the influences of alternate heat and cold, united with dampness, less and less distinct as the years passed. Within three years the frescoes on the walls of the Church of Santa Maria Antiqua in the Roman Forum, though every possible care has been taken to preserve them, have been reduced from their original brilliancy to a state bordering on color chaos. With Monsignor Wilpert's work the destructive march of time, so far as the fading of the Catacomb frescoes is concerned, may be said to be brought to a standstill. As the pictures have been during these last years they appear in the plates that adorn his book. Their actual likeness, no less than their memory, is preserved within these pages; and many eager inquirers into the life of early Christianity in Rome or into the origins of Christian art, who may never visit the Eternal City, will find in this splendid work much valuable material for their studies so as almost to supersede a visit to the actual localities in which the pictures of the Catacombs were painted.

P. L. CONNELLAN.

Rome, Italy.

GREGORY THE GREAT.

TO THE PATRIARCHS, PRIMATES, ARCHBISHOPS, BISHOPS AND
OTHER ORDINARIES IN PEACE AND COMMUNION
WITH THE APOSTOLIC SEE.

PIUS X., POPE.

Venerable Brothers, Health and the Apostolic Blessing:

THE memory of that great and incomparable man, Gregory the First, the thirteenth centennial of whose death we are on the eve of celebrating with all due solemnity, brings to us, Venerable Brothers, great joy. Amid the almost innumerable

cares of our Apostolic ministry, amid all the anxieties the government of the Universal Church imposes upon us, amid the pressing solitudes of satisfying as best we may your claims, Venerable Brothers, who have been called to share in our Apostolate and the claims of all the faithful entrusted to our care, it was ordained, in our opinion not without a special providence, by that God "who killeth and maketh alive, who humbleth and exalteth;" it was ordained, we say, that at the beginning of our Pontificate our gaze should be turned towards that most holy and illustrious predecessor of ours who is the pride and the glory of the Church. We feel great confidence in his intercession with God and we are strengthened by the memory of the sublime maxims he inculcated in his lofty office as well as by the remembrance of the virtues he devoutly practised. Through the efficacy of the former and the fruitfulness of the latter he left on God's Church an impress so great, so deep, so lasting that his contemporaries, as well as posterity, justly bestowed upon him the title of Great. After the lapse of centuries the eulogy engraven on his tomb is still true: "By his countless good works he lives eternal in all places."¹ With the assistance of divine grace all imitators of his glorious example will be able to discharge their duties so far as the weakness of human nature will permit.

There is but little need to repeat here what public documents have made known to all. When Gregory assumed the Supreme Pontificate the disorder in public affairs had reached its climax; ancient civilization had all but disappeared, and barbarism was spreading throughout all the dominions of the crumbling Roman Empire. Italy, abandoned by the Emperors of Byzantium, had become as it were the prey of the Lombards, who were still unsettled, and roamed up and down the whole country, laying waste everywhere with fire and sword, and bringing with them desolation and death. This very city, threatened from without by its enemies, tried from within by the scourges of pestilences, floods and famine, was reduced to such a miserable plight that it had become a problem how to keep the breath of life in the citizens and in the immense multitudes who flocked to it for refuge. Here were to be found men and women of all conditions, Bishops and priests carrying the sacred vessels saved from plunder, monks and innocent spouses of Christ who had sought safety in flight from the swords of the enemy or from the brutal insults of abandoned men. Gregory himself calls the Church of Rome "An old ship woefully shattered; for the waters are entering on all sides, and the joints, beaten by the daily stress of the storm, are growing rotten and heralding shipwreck."² But the

¹ *Apud. Joann. Mae. Veta Greg., iv., 68.*

² *Registrum l., 4, ad Joannem episcop. Constantinop.*

pilot raised up by God had a strong hand, and when placed at the helm was able not only to reach port despite the raging seas, but save the vessel from future storms.

Truly wonderful is the work he succeeded in doing during his reign of little more than thirteen years. He was the restorer of Christian life in its entirety, stimulating the devotion of the faithful, the observance of the monks, the discipline of the clergy, the pastoral solicitude of the Bishops. "Most prudent father of the family of Christ"³ that he was, he preserved and increased the patrimony of the Church and liberally succored the impoverished people, Christian society and individual churches, according to the necessities of each. "Becoming truly God's Consul,"⁴ he pushed his fruitful activity far beyond the walls of Rome wholly for the advantage of civilized society. He opposed energetically the unjust claims of the Byzantine Emperors; he checked the audacity and curbed the shameless extortions of the exarchs and imperial administrators, and stood up as a public defender of social justice. He tamed the ferocity of the Lombards, and did not hesitate to go to meet Agulfus at the gates of Rome in order to prevail upon him to raise the siege of the city, just as the Pontiff Leo the Great did in the case of Attila; nor did he desist in his prayers, in his gentle persuasion, in his skillful negotiation until he saw that dreaded people settle down and adopt a more regular government—until he knew that they were won to the Catholic faith, mainly through the influence of the pious Queen Theodolinda, his daughter in Christ. Hence Gregory may justly be called the savior and liberator of Italy—his own land, as he tenderly calls her.⁵

Through his incessant pastoral care the embers of heresy in Italy and Africa die out, ecclesiastical life in the Gauls is reorganized, the Visigoths of the Spains are welded together in the conversion which has already been begun among them, and the renowned English nation, which, situated in a corner of the world, had hitherto remained obstinate in the worship of wood and stones,⁶ now also receives the true faith of Christ. Gregory's heart overflowed with joy at the news of this precious conquest, for it is the heart of a father going out to his most beloved son. He attributes all the merit of it to Jesus the Redeemer, for whose love, as he himself writes, we are seeking our unknown brothers in Britain, and through whose grace we find the unknown ones we were seeking.⁶ And so grateful to the holy Pontiff was the English nation that it called him always: Our Master, our Doctor, our Apostle, our Pope, our Gregory, and considered itself as the seal of his apostolate. In fine,

³ Jeann. Diac., *Vita Greg.* I., 51.

⁴ Epitaph.

⁵ Reg. viii., 29, 30, ad Eulog. Episcop. Alexandr.

⁶ Reg. xi., 36 (28), ad Augustin. Anglorum Episcopum.

his action was so salutary and so efficacious that the memory of the works wrought by him became deeply impressed on the minds of posterity, especially during the middle ages, which breathed, so to say, the atmosphere infused by him, fed on his words, conformed its life and manners according to the example inculcated by him, with the result that Christian social civilization was happily introduced into the world in opposition to the Roman civilization of the preceding centuries, which now passed away forever.

This change was by the right hand of the Most High! Adopting Gregory's view, we are justified in declaring that it was only God who could have brought about these great events. What he wrote to the most holy monk Augustine about this same conversion of the English is applicable to all the rest of his apostolic labor: "Whose work is this but His, who said: 'My Father worketh until now, and I work?' (John v., 17.) To show the world that He wished to convert it not by the wisdom of men, but by His own power, He chose unlettered men to be preachers to the world; and the same He has now done, vouchsafing to accomplish great things in the English nation by means of weak men." We do, indeed, discern much that the Holy Pontiff's profound humility hid from his own sight—his knowledge of affairs, his talent for bringing his undertaking to a successful issue, the wonderful prudence shown in all his provisions, his assiduous vigilance, his persevering solicitude. He never put himself forward as one invested with the might and power of the great ones of the earth. Instead of using the lofty degree of Pontifical dignity, he preferred to call himself the "servant of the servants of God," a title which he was the first to adopt. He did not make his way merely by profane science or the "persuasive words of human wisdom" (I. Cor. ii., 4), or by the devices of civil politics, or by systems of social renovation, skillfully studied, prepared and put in execution; nor yet, and this is very striking, by setting before himself a vast programme of apostolic action to be gradually realized. We know that his mind was full of the idea of the approaching end of the world, which was to have left him but little time for great exploits. Though very delicate and fragile of body and constantly afflicted by infirmities which several times brought him to the point of death, he yet possessed an incredible intellectual energy which was forever receiving fresh vigor from his lively faith in the infallible words of Christ and in His divine promises. He moreover counted with unlimited confidence on the supernatural force given by God to the Church for the successful accomplishment of her divine mission in the world. The constant aim of his life, as shown in all his words and works, was this: To

preserve in himself and to stimulate in others this same lively faith and confidence, doing all the good possible in expectation of the divine judgment.

And this produced in him the fixed resolve to adopt for the salvation of all the abundant wealth of supernatural means given by God to His Church, such as the infallible teaching of revealed truth, the preaching of this teaching in the whole world, the sacraments which have the power of infusing or increasing the life of the soul, and the grace of prayer in the name of Christ which assures heavenly protection.

These memories, Venerable Brothers, are a source of unspeakable comfort to us. When we look forth from the Vatican we, like Gregory and perhaps even more so than he, have grounds for fear. So many are the storms gathering on every side, so many are the hostile forces massed and advancing against us, and at the same time so utterly deprived are we of all human aid to ward off the former and to help us to meet the shock of the latter. But when we remember the place on which our feet rest and where this Pontifical See is placed, we feel ourself perfectly safe on the rock of Holy Church. "For who does not know," wrote St. Gregory to the patriarch Eulogius of Alexandria, "that Holy Church stands on the solidity of the Prince of the Apostles, who got his name from his firmness, for he was called Peter from the word rock?"⁸ Supernatural force has never during the flight of ages been found wanting in the Church, nor have Christ's promises failed; these remain to-day what they were when they brought consolation to Gregory's heart—nay, for us they possess greater authority after having stood the test of centuries and of so many changes of circumstances and events.

Kingdoms and empires have passed away, time and again the nations, as though overwhelmed by the weight of years, have fallen asunder; while the Church, indefectible in her essence, united by a tie indissoluble with her heavenly spouse, is here to-day, radiant with eternal youth, strong with the same primitive vigor with which she left the Heart of Christ dead upon the cross. Men powerful in the world have risen up against her. They have disappeared and she remains. Philosophical systems without number, of every form and every kind, rose up against her, arrogantly vaunting themselves her masters, as though they had at last destroyed the teaching of the Church, refuted the dogmas of faith and proved the absurdity of her teachings. But those systems, one after another, have passed into books of history, forgotten, bankrupt; while from the Rock of Peter the light of truth shines forth as brilliantly as on the day when Jesus first kindled it on His appearance in the world and fed it with

⁸ Registr. vii., 37 (40).

His divine words: "Heaven and earth shall pass, but my words shall not pass." (Matt. xxiv., 35.)

We, strengthened by this faith, firmly established on this rock, realizing to the full all the heavy duties that the Primacy imposes on us, but yet realizing all the vigor that comes to us from the divine will, calmly wait until all the voices be scattered to the winds that shout around us proclaiming that the Church is doomed, that her doctrines have become obsolete and that the time is at hand when she will be forced either to accept the tenets of a godless science and a godless civilization or disappear from human society. But in the midst of all this clamor we, like Pope St. Gregory, have to remind all, great and small, of the absolute necessity of having recourse to this Church in order to have eternal salvation, to follow the right road of reason, to feed on the truth, to obtain peace and even happiness in this life. Wherefore, to use the words of the holy Pontiff: "Turn your steps toward this unshaken rock upon which our Saviour founded the Universal Church, so that the path of him who is sincere of heart may not be lost in devious windings."⁹ "Only the charity of the Church and union with her unite what is divided, restore order where there is confusion, temper inequalities, fill up imperfections."¹⁰ It must be ever remembered that "nobody can rightly govern in earthly things unless he knows how to treat divine things, and that the peace of States depends upon the universal peace of the Church."¹¹ Hence the absolute necessity of a perfect harmony between the two powers, ecclesiastical and civil, each being by the will of God called to sustain the other. For "power over all men was given from heaven that those who aspire to do well may be aided, that the path to heaven may be made broader and that earthly sovereignty may be a handmaid to heavenly sovereignty."¹²

From these principles Gregory derived his unconquerable firmness, which we will, with the help of God, study to imitate. We are resolved to defend at all costs the rights and prerogatives of which the Roman Pontificate is the guardian and the defender before God and man. It was the same Gregory who wrote to the patriarchs of Alexandria and Antioch: When the rights of the Church are in question "we must show even by our death that we do not, through love of some private interest of our own, want anything contrary to the common weal."¹³ To the Emperor Maurice he wrote: "He who through vainglory raises his neck against God Almighty and against the statutes of the Fathers shall not bend my neck to him,

⁹ Reg. viii., 24, ad Sabin. episcop.

¹⁰ Registr. v., 58 (53) ad Virgil epis.

¹¹ Registr. v., 37 (20) ad Mauric. Aug.

¹² Registr. iii., 61 (65) ad Mauric. Aug.

¹³ Registr. v., 41.

not even with the cutting of swords, as I trust in the same God Almighty."¹⁴ And to the Deacon Sabinian: "I am ready to die rather than permit that the Church degenerate in my days. And you well know my ways, that I am long-suffering; but when I decide not to bear any longer, I face danger with a joyful mind."¹⁵

Such were the fundamental maxims which the Pontiff Gregory constantly proclaimed. Men listened to him. With princes and people docile to his words, the world regained true salvation and put itself on the path of a civilization which was noble and fruitful in blessings in proportion as it was founded on the incontrovertible dictates of reason and moral discipline, and derived its force from truth divinely revealed and from the maxims of the Gospel.

But in those days the people, albeit rude, ignorant and still destitute of all civilization, were eager for life, which no one could give them except Christ through the Church. "I come that they may have life and have it more abundantly." (John x., 10.) And truly they had life and had it abundantly, for the reason that no other life but the supernatural life of souls could come from the Church. This includes in itself and gives additional vigor to all the energies of life, even in the natural order. "If the root be holy so are the branches, said St. Paul to the Gentiles, and thou being a wild olive art ingrafted in them and art made a partaker of the root and of the fatness of the olive tree." (Ad Rom. xi., 16, 17.)

To-day the world, although it enjoys a light so full of Christian civilization and in this respect cannot for a moment be compared with the times of Gregory, seems as though it were tired of that life, which has been and still is the chief and often the sole fount of so many blessings—not only past but present blessings. Not only does this useless branch cut itself off from the trunk, as happened in other times when heresies and schisms arose, but it first lays the axe to the root of the tree, which is the Church, and strives to dry up its vital sap that its ruin may be the surer and that it may never blossom again.

In this error, which is the chief one of our time and the source whence all the others spring, lies the origin of so much loss of eternal salvation among men and of all the ruins affecting religion which we continue to lament, and of the many others which we still fear will happen if the evil be not remedied. For all supernatural order is denied which implies a denial of divine intervention in the order of creation and in the government of the world and in the possibility of miracles. In this way the foundations of the Christian religion are necessarily shaken. Men even go so far as

¹⁴ Registr. v., 37.

¹⁵ Registr. v., 6; iv., 47.

to impugn the arguments for the existence of God, denying with unparalleled audacity and against the first principles of reason the invincible force of the proof which from effects ascends to their cause, that is, God, and to the notion of His infinite attributes. "For the invisible things of Him, from the creation of the world, are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made; His eternal power also and divinity." (Rom. i., 20.) The way is thus opened to other most grievous errors, equally repugnant to right reason and pernicious to good morals.

The gratuitous negation of the supernatural principle, a characteristic "knowledge falsely so called," has actually become the postulate of a historical criticism equally false. Everything that relates in any way to the supernatural order, either as belonging to it, constituting it, presupposing it, or merely finding its explanation in it, is erased without further investigation from the pages of history. Such is the treatment accorded the divinity of Jesus Christ, His incarnation through the operation of the Holy Ghost, His resurrection by His own power and in general all the dogmas of our faith. Science once placed on this false road, there is no law of criticism to hold it back and it cancels at its own caprice from the holy books everything that does not suit it or that it believes to be opposed to the preëstablished theses it wishes to demonstrate. For, take away the supernatural order and the story of the origin of the Church must be built on quite another foundation. The innovators, therefore, handle as they list historical documents forcing them to say what they wish them to say, and not what the authors of those documents meant.

Many are captivated by the great show of erudition which is paraded before them and by the apparently convincing force of the proofs adduced, so that they either lose the faith or feel that it is greatly shaken in them. Many who are firm in the faith accuse critical science of being destructive. Such science in itself is not blamable, as it is a sure element of investigation when rightly applied. Those who are shaken in their faith by critical science as well as those who condemn that science fail to see that they start from a false hypothesis, that is to say, from science falsely so called, which logically forces them to conclusions equally false. For given a false philosophical principle everything deduced from it is vitiated. But these errors will never be effectually refuted unless by bringing about a change of front, that is to say, unless those in error be forced to leave the field of criticism in which they consider themselves firmly entrenched for the legitimate field of philosophy through the abandonment of which they have fallen into their errors.

Meanwhile it is painful to have to apply to men not lacking in

acumen and application the rebuke addressed by St. Paul to those who fail to rise from earthly things to the things that are invisible. "They became vain in their thoughts and their foolish heart was darkened; for professing themselves to be wise they became fools." (Rom. i., 21, 22.) And surely foolish is the proper word to apply to him who consumes all his intellectual forces in building upon sand.

Not less deplorable are the injuries which accrue from this negation to the moral life of individuals and of civil society. Take away the principle that there is anything divine outside this visible world, and you remove all check upon unbridled passion, even those of the lowest and most shameful kind. The minds that become slaves to them riot in disorders of every sort. "God gave them up to the desire of their heart, unto uncleanness, to dishonor their own bodies among themselves." (Rom. i., 24.) You are well aware, Venerable Brothers, how truly the plague of depravity rages on all sides, and how the civil authority, wherever it fails to have recourse to the means of help offered by the supernatural order, finds itself quite unequal to the task of checking it. Civil authority will never be able to heal other evils so long as it forgets or denies that all power comes from God. The only check a government can employ in this case is that of force. But force cannot be constantly employed, nor is it always available. The people suffering by a secret disease become discontented with everything. They proclaim the right to act as they please, stir up rebellions and provoke revolutions in the State, trampling on all rights, human and divine. Take away God, and all respect for civil laws, all regard for even the most necessary institutions disappear; justice is scouted; the very liberty that belongs to the law of nature is trodden under foot, and men go so far as to destroy the very structure of the family, which is the first and firmest foundation of the social structure. The result is that in these days so hostile to Christ, it has become more difficult to apply the powerful remedies which the Redeemer has put into the hands of the Church in order to keep the people within the lines of duty.

Yet there is no salvation for the world but in Christ: "For there is no other name under heaven given to men whereby we may be saved." (Acts iv., 12.) To Christ then we must return. At His feet we must prostrate ourselves to hear from His divine mouth the words of eternal life, for He alone can show us the way of regeneration. He alone can teach us the truth. He alone can restore life to us. It is He who has said: "I am the way, the truth and the life." (John xiv., 16.) Men have once more attempted to get along here below without Him, they have begun to build up the edifice after

rejecting the corner-stone, as the Apostle Peter rebuked the executioners of Jesus with doing. And lo! the pile that has been raised again crumbles and falls upon the heads of the builders, crushing them. But Jesus remains forever the corner-stone of human society, and again the truth becomes apparent that without Him there is no salvation. "This is the stone which has been rejected by you, the builders, and which has become the head of the corner, neither is there salvation in any other." (Acts iv., 11, 12.)

From all this you will easily see, Venerable Brothers, the absolute necessity imposed upon every one of us to revive with all the energy of our souls and with all the means at our disposal this supernatural life in every branch of society—in the poor workingman who earns his morsel of bread by the sweat of his brow from morning to night and in the great ones of the earth who preside over the destiny of nations. We must, above all else, have recourse to prayer, both public and private, to implore the mercies of the Lord and His powerful assistance. "Lord, save us—we perish" (Matthew viii., 25) we must repeat, like the Apostles when buffeted by the storm.

But this is not enough. Gregory rebukes a Bishop who, through love of spiritual solitude and prayer, fails to go out into the battlefield to combat strenuously for the cause of the Lord: "The name of Bishop which he bears is an empty one." And rightly so, for men's intellects are to be enlightened by continual preaching of the truth, and errors are to be efficaciously refuted by the principles of true and solid philosophy and theology and by all the means provided by the genuine progress of historical investigation. It is still more necessary to inculcate properly on the minds of all the moral maxims taught by Jesus Christ, so that everybody may learn to conquer himself, to curb the passions of the mind, to stifle pride, to live in obedience to authority, to love justice, to show charity toward all, to temper with Christian love the bitternesses of social inequalities, to detach the heart from the goods of the world, to live contented with the state in which Providence has placed us while striving to better it by the fulfilment of our duties, to thirst after the future life in the hope of eternal reward. But above all is it necessary that these principles be instilled and made to penetrate into the heart, so that true and solid piety may strike root there, and all, both as men and as Christians, may recognize by their acts as well as by their words the duties of their state and have recourse with filial confidence to the Church and her ministers to obtain from them pardon for their sins, to receive the strengthening grace of the sacraments and to regulate their lives according to the laws of Christianity.

With these chief duties of the spiritual ministry it is necessary to unite the charity of Christ. When this moves us there will be

nobody in affliction who will not be consoled by us, no tears that will not be dried by our hands, no need that will not be relieved by us. To the exercise of this charity let us dedicate ourselves wholly; let our own affairs give way before it, let our personal interests and convenience be set aside for it, making ourselves "all things to all men" (I. Cor. ix., 22), to gain all men to the truth, giving up our very life itself, after the example of Christ, who imposes this as a duty on the pastors of the Church: "The good shepherd gives his life for his sheep." (John x., 11.)

These precious admonitions abound in the pages which the Pontiff St. Gregory has left written, and they are expressed with far greater force in the manifold examples of his admirable life.

Now since all this springs necessarily both from the nature of the principles of Christian revelation and from the intrinsic properties which our Apostolate should have, you see clearly, Venerable Brothers, how mistaken are those who think they are doing service to the Church and producing fruit for the salvation of souls, when by a kind of prudence of the flesh they show themselves liberal in concessions to science falsely so called, under the fatal illusion that they are thus able more easily to win over those in error. In reality they are in continual danger of being themselves lost. The truth is one and it cannot be halved; it lasts forever and is not subject to the vicissitudes of the times, "Jesus Christ, to-day and yesterday, and the same forever." (Hebr. xiii., 8.)

They, too, are all seriously mistaken who, occupying themselves with the welfare of the people, and especially with upholding the cause of the poorer classes, seek to promote above all else the material well-being of the body and of life, but are utterly silent about their spiritual welfare and the very serious duties which their profession as Christians enjoins upon them. They are not ashamed to conceal, sometimes as though with a veil, certain fundamental maxims of the Gospel, for fear lest otherwise the people refuse to hear and follow them. It will certainly be the part of prudence to proceed gradually in laying down the truth, when one has to do with men complete strangers to us and completely separated from God. "Before using the steel, let the wounds be felt with a light hand," as Gregory said.¹⁶ But even this carefulness would sink to mere prudence of the flesh were it proposed as the rule of constant and everyday action—all the more since such a method would seem not to hold in due account that divine grace which sustains the sacerdotal ministry and which is given not only to those who exercise this ministry, but to all the faithful of Christ in order that our words and our actions may find an entrance into hearts of men.

¹⁶ Registr. v., 44 (18) ad Joannem episcop.

Gregory did not at all understand this prudence, either in the preaching of the Gospel or in the many wonderful works undertaken by him to relieve misery. He did constantly what the Apostles had done, for they, when they went out for the first time into the world to bring into it the name of Christ, repeated the saying: "We preach Christ crucified, a scandal for the Jews, a folly for the Gentiles." (I. Cor. i., 23.) If ever there was a time in which human prudence seemed to offer the only expedient for obtaining something in a world altogether unprepared to receive doctrines so new, so repugnant to human passions, so opposed to the civilization, then at its most flourishing period, of the Greeks and the Romans, that time was certainly the epoch of the preaching of the faith. But the Apostles disdained such prudence, because they understood well the precept of God: "It pleased God, by the foolishness of our preaching, to save them that believe." (I. Cor. i., 21.) And as it ever was, so it is to-day, this foolishness "to them that are saved, that is, to us, it is the power of God." (I. Cor. i., 18.) The scandal of the Crucified will ever furnish us in the future, as it has done in the past, with the most potent of all weapons; now, as of yore, in that sign we shall find victory.

But, Venerable Brothers, this weapon will lose much of its efficacy or be altogether useless in the hands of men not accustomed to the interior life with Christ, not educated in the school of true and solid piety, not thoroughly inflamed with zeal for the glory of God and for the propagation of His kingdom. So keenly did Gregory feel this necessity that he used the greatest care in creating Bishops and priests, animated by a great desire for the divine glory and for the true welfare of souls. This is what he aimed at in his book on the Pastoral Rule, wherein are gathered together the laws regulating the formation of the clergy and the government of Bishops—laws most suitable not for his times only, but for our own. Like an "argus full of light," says his biographer, "he moved all round the eyes of his pastoral solicitude through all the extent of the world,"¹⁷ to discover and correct the failings and the negligence of the clergy. Nay, he trembled at the very thought that barbarism and immorality might obtain a footing in the life of the clergy. He was deeply moved and gave himself no peace whenever he learned of some infraction of the disciplinary laws of the Church and immediately administered admonition and correction, threatening with canonical penalties transgressors, sometimes immediately applying these penalties himself, and again removing the unworthy from their offices without delay and without human respect.

Moreover, he inculcated many maxims which we frequently find

¹⁷ Joann. Diac., lib. ii., c. 55.

in his writings in such form as this: "In what frame of mind does one enter upon the office of mediator between God and man who is not conscious of being familiar with grace through a meritorious life?"¹⁸ "If passion lives in his actions, with what presumption does he hasten to cure the wound when he wears a scar on his very face?"¹⁹ What fruit can be expected for the salvation of souls if the apostles "combat in their lives what they preach in their words?"²⁰ "Truly he cannot remove the delinquencies of others who is himself ravaged by the same."²¹

The picture of the true priest, as Gregory understands and describes him, is the man who, dying to all passions of the flesh already lives spiritually; who has no thought for worldly prosperity; who has no fear of adversity; who desires only internal things; who does not permit himself to desire what belongs to others, but is liberal of his own; who is all bowels of compassion and inclines to forgiveness, but in forgiveness never swerves more than is fitting from the perfection of righteousness; who never commits unlawful actions, but deplores as though they were his own the unlawful actions of others; who with all affection of the heart compassionates the weakness of others, and rejoices in the prosperity of his neighbor as in his own profit; who in all his doings so renders himself a model for others as to have nothing whereof to be ashamed, at least as regards his external actions; who studies so to live that he may be able to water the parched hearts of his neighbors with the waters of doctrine; who knows through the use of prayer and through his own experiences that he can obtain from the Lord what he asks.²²

How much thought, therefore, Venerable Brothers, must the Bishop seriously take with himself and in the presence of God before laying hands on young levites? Let him never dare, either as an act of favor to anybody or in response to petitions made to him, to promote any one to sacred orders whose life and actions do not afford a guarantee of worthiness.²³ With what deliberation should he reflect before intrusting the works of the Apostolate to newly-ordained priests. If they be not duly tried under the vigilant guardianship of more prudent priests, if there be not abundant evidence of their morality, of their inclination for spiritual exercises, of their prompt obedience to all the regulations which are suggested by ecclesiastical custom or proved by long experience, or imposed by those whom "the Holy Ghost has placed as Bishops to rule the

¹⁸ Reg. Past. i., 10.

¹⁹ Reg. Past. i., 9.

²⁰ Reg. Past. i., 2.

²¹ Reg. Past. i., 11.

²² Reg. Past. i., 10.

²³ Registr. v., 63 (58) ad universos episcopos per Hellad.

Church of God" (Acts xx., 28), they will exercise the sacerdotal ministry not for the salvation but for the ruin of the Christian people. For they will provoke discord and excite rebellion, more or less tacit, thus offering to the world the sad spectacle of something like division amongst us, whereas in truth these deplorable incidents are but the pride and the unruliness of a few. Let those who stir up discord be removed from every office. Of such apostles the Church has no need; they are not apostles of Jesus Christ Crucified, but of themselves.

We seem to see still present before our eyes the Holy Pontiff Gregory at the Lateran Council, surrounded by a great number of Bishops from all parts of the world. Oh, how truthful is the exhortation that pours from his lips on the duties of the clergy! How his heart is consumed with zeal! His words are as lightnings rending the perverse, as scourges striking the indolent, as flames of divine love gently enfolding the most fervent. Read that wonderful homily of Gregory, Venerable Brothers, and have it read and meditated by your clergy, especially during the annual retreat.²⁴

Among other things, with unspeakable sorrow he exclaims: "Lo, the world is full of priests, but rare indeed is it to find a worker in the hands of God; we do indeed assume the priestly office, but the obligation of the office we do not fulfill."²⁵ What force the Church would have to-day could she count a worker in every priest? What abundant fruit would the supernatural life of the Church produce in souls were it efficaciously promoted by all. Gregory succeeded in his own times in strenuously stimulating this spirit of energetic action, and such was the force of the impulse given by him that the same spirit was kept alive during the succeeding ages. The whole mediæval period bears what may be called the Gregorian imprint; almost everything it had indeed came to it from that Pontiff—the rules of ecclesiastical government, the manifold phases of charity and philanthropy in its social institutions, the principles of the most perfect Christian asceticism and of monastic life, the arrangement of the liturgy and the art of sacred music.

The times are indeed greatly changed. But, as we have more than once repeated, nothing is changed in the life of the Church. From her Divine Founder she has inherited the virtue of being able to supply at all times, however much they may differ, all that is required not only for the spiritual welfare of souls, which is the direct object of her mission, but also everything that aids progress in true civilization, for this flows as a natural consequence of that same mission.

²⁴ Hom. in Evang. i., 17.

²⁵ Hom. in Evang., n. 3.

Truths of the supernatural order, of which the Church is the depository, necessarily promote everything that is true, good and beautiful in the order of nature, and this is accomplished more efficaciously in proportion as these truths are traced to the supreme principle of truth, goodness and beauty, which is God.

Human science gains greatly from revelation, for the latter opens out new horizons and makes known sooner other truths of the natural order. It opens the true road to investigation and keeps it safe from errors of application and of method. Thus does the lighthouse show many things which otherwise would not be seen while it points out the rocks on which the vessel would suffer shipwreck.

And since, for our moral discipline, the Divine Redeemer proposes as our supreme model of perfection His heavenly Father (Matthew v., 48), in other words, the Divine goodness itself, who can fail to see the mighty impulse thereby given to the more perfect observance of the natural law inscribed in our hearts, and consequently to the greater welfare of the individual, the family and universal society. The ferocity of the barbarians was thus transformed to gentleness, woman was freed from subjection, slavery was repressed, order was restored in the due and reciprocal dependence upon one another of the various classes of society, justice was recognized, the true liberty of souls was proclaimed and social and domestic peace assured.

Finally, the arts, modeled on the supreme exemplar of all beauty which is God Himself, from whom is derived all the beauty to be found in nature, are more securely withdrawn from vulgar concepts and more efficaciously uplifted towards the ideal, which is the life of all art. And how fruitful of good has been the principle of employing them in the service of divine worship and of offering to the Lord everything that is deemed to be worthy of Him, by reason of its richness, its goodness, its elegance of form. This principle has created sacred art, which became and still continues to be the foundation of all profane art. We recently touched upon this in a special *Motu Proprio*, when we spoke of the restoration of the Roman chant according to the ancient tradition and of sacred music. And so with the other arts, each in its own sphere, so that what has been said of the chant may also be said of painting, sculpture, architecture. Towards all these great creations of genius the Church has been lavish of inspiration and encouragement. The whole human race, fed on this sublime ideal, raises magnificent temples, and here in the House of God, as in its own house, lifts up its heart to heavenly things in the midst of the treasures of every beautiful art, with the majesty of liturgical ceremony, and to the accompaniment of the sweetest of song.

All these benefits, we repeat, the efforts of the Pontiff, St. Gregory, succeeded in securing for his own time and for the centuries that followed. They also are attainable to-day, by virtue of the intrinsic efficacy of the principles which should guide us and of the means we have at our disposal. At the same time with all zeal the good which by the grace of God is still left us whilst "restoring in Christ" (Ephes. i., 10) let us restore all that has unfortunately lapsed from the right rule.

We are glad to be able to close these, our Letters, with the very words with which St. Gregory concluded his memorable exhortation in the Lateran Council: These things, Brothers, you should meditate with all solicitude and at the same time propose for the meditation of your neighbor. Prepare to restore to God the fruit of the ministry you have received. But everything we have called your attention to we shall obtain much better by prayer than by our discourse. Let us pray: O God, by whose will we have been called as pastors among the people, grant, we beseech Thee, that we may be enabled to be in Thy sight what we are said to be by the mouths of men.²⁶

And while we trust that through the intercession of the holy Pontiff Gregory God may graciously hear our prayer, we impart to all of you, Venerable Brothers, and to your clergy and people, the apostolic benediction with all the affection of our heart, as a pledge of heavenly favors and in token of our paternal good will.

Given at Rome at St. Peter's on March 12 of the year 1904, on the feast of St. Gregory I., Pope and Doctor of the Church, in the first year of our Pontificate.

PIUS X., POPE.

²⁶ Hom. cit. ii., 18.

Scientific Chronicle.

STEAM TURBINES AND RECIPROCATING ENGINES.

It is now almost a century and a half since the issue of the first Watt patent for the reciprocating engine, while the practical turbine is only a quarter of a century old and its possibilities have been recognized only within the last decade. For one hundred and fifty years the development of the reciprocating engine was the result of the concerted efforts of the best engineers of the whole world, and yet we find that the place which the highest type resulting from this development occupies in the engineering world is disputed by the more recent type, the steam turbine.

Until recently the development of the steam turbine has been in stationary service. This was undoubtedly due to its adaptability for direct connection with dynamos run at high rotatory speeds. Now that the development of the marine turbine is rapid, and from all accounts successful, the engineering press furnishes many interesting papers in which the relative merits of the two types of steam engine are ably discussed.

Professor Rateau, of Paris, in a paper presented at a recent meeting of the Institution of Naval Architects discusses the performance of turbines on a vessel identical in all other respects to vessels equipped with reciprocating engines. The boat in question was a torpedo boat built by Messrs. Yarrow and was similar in all respects to thirty other boats built by the same firm. The Yarrow boat was peculiar in the fact that it had besides the two lateral shafts which were run by Rateau turbines a central shaft worked by a reciprocating engine and used for reversing and cruising at reduced speeds.

Trials made upon this boat show that for the development of 2,000 horse-power the amount of steam consumed was 13.4 for each effective horse-power hour. This would correspond to 11.7 pounds per indicated horse-power for a reciprocating engine in which there would be 12 per cent. loss from internal friction. This is considered good economy, especially since the total weight of 2,000 horse-power of turbines averages only 8.6 pounds per horse-power. The combination of the two kinds of engines on the same vessel is considered an advantage when most of the cruising is at low speed. This would not be considered necessary in the case of transatlantic liners, where full speed is kept up almost all the time.

Professor Rateau admits and points out the difficulties to be

encountered in the application of the turbine to marine navigation. The difficulties are three. These are the proper design and arrangement of the propellers for high rotative speeds, the low efficiency of the turbine at low speeds, and the provisions for reversing and manœuvring. The first two difficulties come from the fact that the turbines are most efficient at high speeds and the propellers at low speeds. The practical solution of this difficulty up to the present seems to be to use several propellers of small diameter on the same shaft, for to run large single propellers would involve the use of larger turbines and thus increase the weight, destroying one of the chief advantages of the turbine. Professor Rateau places the minimum limit of efficiency for the turbine at 20 knots. As there is a determination to apply the turbine to transatlantic liners with a speed of 17 knots, this limit may be reduced.

A commission appointed by the Cunard Company to determine the question of motive power for the two vessels to be built to carry the American mails and to act as mercantile cruisers in time of war has made an exhaustive report, of which *Engineering* says editorially: "The report, it is said, reviews the turbine from every standpoint, and is probably the most carefully prepared judicial pronouncement on the subject yet made. When the turbine was first proposed it was naturally anticipated that there would be a saving in weight per unit of power, and this became a most important matter in the case of a vessel that must develop something like 70,000 indicated horse-power to get a speed of 25 knots. But it is now understood that the commission place the economy in weight at nearer three per cent. than the ten per cent. at one time thought possible. On the question of fuel economy there has always been difficulty in arriving at definite data; but here the trials of the Midland Railway Company's new boats, which differ only in their propelling machinery, will yield valuable information. It has been stated that the trials of the Channel steamers showed an economy of two per cent. as compared with reciprocating machinery; but there is an accumulation of reliable data to show that in electric light stations a much greater saving is realized. In such marine installations as have been the subject of comparative trials there were other variants influencing the issue. At low power there is now no question that the turbine is not so economical. But this disadvantage operates more in the case of naval ships, where the greater part of the steaming is at low power; it does not affect the merchant ship, especially the Atlantic liner, which runs for 99 per cent. of her time at full power. The turbine machinery can therefore be easily designed to give the highest efficiency at full power, and good results will thus be insured."

It seems that the commission has advised the abandoning of the use of several propellers on the same shaft, and that the new ships will be fitted with four shafts with one propeller and one go-ahead turbine on each. This is the plan followed on the turbine-driven German war vessel, the Lubeck, recently launched at Stettin. The two inside shafts will likely carry low-pressure turbines as well as the reversing turbines, while the high-pressure turbines will be on the outside shafts. The object aimed at in this distribution is to reduce the revolutions of the propellers, for experience teaches that slow-running, large-surfaced, coarse-pitched propellers give the best results.

In favor of the reciprocating engine we have the article of Mr. J. A. Seymour in a recent number of the *Electrical World and Engineer*. The comparison from which the data are taken was between high class reciprocating engines built by Mr. Seymour's firm and a Westinghouse-Parsons steam turbine made by Mr. Mat-tice. The results of these tests are given in the form of curves, from which it is clear that the best performance of the turbine is reached at or near the full load. The reciprocating engine, on the contrary, shows its maximum economy at 0.8 of the full load. In fact, the curve shows that there is little variation from maximum efficiency between 0.7 and 0.9 of the full load. In the particular tests to which we refer the steam consumption per electrical horsepower hour at 0.8 of full load was twelve and one-half pounds for the reciprocating engine and fourteen for the turbine. At full load the consumption for the turbine fell to thirteen and one-half pounds, while for the reciprocating engine rose to twelve and three-quarter pounds.

Mr. Seymour contends that for electric station work the comparison between the two kinds of engine must take into account the average light load. This is but fair when we consider the ever fluctuating character of the load under such circumstances, and here the question of economy in steam consumption is in favor of the reciprocating engine. Mr. Seymour points out what he considers another difficulty. To maintain the capacity and the economy of the turbine a very high vacuum is required, and he thinks that this is a more difficult problem than is generally admitted, especially if it is to be done with condensing apparatus of commercially practicable size and in warm weather.

While economy in steam consumption is at present in favor of the reciprocating engine, yet this may not be the final criterion determining the rejection or adoption of the turbine. Other elements have a controlling effect upon the economy in expense. If the turbine is cheaper in first cost, in foundations, in space, and if

it secures greater smoothness in running, it may prove the cheaper engine.

The object in view in adopting the turbine for the transatlantic liners of the Cunard Line seems to be to secure an average high speed of twenty-five knots. Still it must be remembered that a speed of twenty-four knots has been attained by the Kaiser Wilhelm II. with reciprocating engines. The question seems still to remain an open one.

MEASURING HIGH TEMPERATURES.

Most people are now familiar with the instruments for measuring ordinary variations in temperature; there exists, however, in modern industrial life the necessity of determining still higher temperatures and the methods for so doing are both instructive and ingenious.

Although the ordinary mercury thermometer cannot be employed for temperatures beyond its boiling point, which is 357 degrees C., still an improved form enables it to indicate temperatures up to 550 degrees C. The range of the thermometer is increased by the introduction of compressed nitrogen or carbonic acid gas in the upper part of the tube. The increased pressure prevents the mercury boiling at the temperature at which it would boil at ordinary atmospheric pressure.

The metallic thermometer is another way in which high temperatures may be registered. It consists of a spiral metallic ribbon. This ribbon is made of two different metals, each of the constituent metals forming one of the flat faces of the ribbon. These metals expand at different rates for the same increase of temperature. Hence the spiral winds and unwinds according to the variations in temperature. An index attached to the spiral moves over a dial and indicates the torsion and an imperial scale the temperature.

The thalpotasimeter is based on the principle that a confined volume of a gas or a vapor expands under an increase of temperature and that the pressure of this expanding vapor is a measure of the increase of temperature. In some forms of this instrument they employ vapor of ether and in others they use vapor of mercury. The pressure is indicated either by a dial or by a stylus that leaves a permanent record on a moving strip of paper.

For still higher temperatures the water pyrometer has been frequently employed. This is based on what is known as the "method of mixtures." That is, the temperature is calculated from the relative specific heats of different substances. By the specific heat of a substance is meant the quantity of heat necessary to raise the unit

of mass of the substance one degree in temperature, that is from 4 degrees to 5 degrees C. The quantity needed to produce this increase in temperature for the unit of mass of water is taken as the standard unit of specific heat. This same quantity of heat would raise the temperature of an equal mass of iron through several degrees. The quantity of heat that would raise the temperature of one kilogramme of water from 0 degree C. to 100 degrees C. would raise the same amount of iron from 0 degree to between 800 and 900 degrees C.

The method then followed in using this pyrometer is to expose a piece of some refractory metal, like platinum, to the heat of the source to be measured and after it has taken up the temperature of the source, it is immediately plunged into a known weight of water, the temperature of which is known. From the rise in temperature of the water, which is the loss of the platinum, the temperature to which the mass of the metal was exposed is easily calculated.

The thermo-electric pyrometer of Le Chatelier is used very generally for scientific observations. Its action is based on the fact that when two dissimilar metals are united and the juncture is heated an electric current will be produced. To use this instrument for high temperatures it is necessary that the metals should be able to withstand the temperature and also that a small current should be generated. Two metals that are used are platinum and an alloy of platinum with ten per cent. of rhodium. For protection and to facilitate their introduction into a furnace they are inclosed in a porcelain tube. The temperature is measured by the deflection of the needle of a galvanometer.

The latest methods, however, are based on an entirely different principle worked out in the so-called optical pyrometers. On the suggestion of Newton that definite colors are due to definite temperatures, Pouillet by direct vision worked out the temperatures accompanying the principal color changes. This method was later improved by Mesure and Nouel in what they called the pyrometric telescope. It consisted of a tube containing two Nicol prisms. One of the prisms was fixed in position and the other could be rotated, the amount of rotation being measured by a circular scale. A quartz plate was inserted between the two prisms. The light from the source whose temperature was to be measured was polarized by the first or stationary prism and then partly rotated by the quartz. This light is examined by the rotating prism, and the angle through which the prism must be turned to obtain a certain color will depend upon the composition of the light and this latter upon the temperature. Hence the angle of rotation becomes a measure of the temperature. The difficulty of recognizing a previously

observed color precludes the possibility of a high degree of precision. It is, however, an improvement on direct visual observation.

The very latest forms of radiant pyrometers do not depend on the light rays, but upon the heat rays emitted by the body whose temperature is to be determined. The temperature of the dark rays emitted from a body can be determined, and on the relation that exists between the absolute temperature of a body and the wave length of the rays emitted the working of the apparatus is based. According to Planck there is a definite relation between the wave lengths of two sets of rays and the temperature of the bodies from which they are emitted. Hence it is possible to measure the relation between the temperature of an unknown body and one whose temperature is known.

In the Wanner pyrometer, which has been tested for temperatures between 900 degrees C. and 2,000 degrees C., the maximum error was less than one per cent. The comparison light in this pyrometer is an incandescent lamp and waves of uniform length are obtained either by using colored glass or by dispersing the light by means of a prism and selecting some definite portion of the spectrum. In practice the latter way is generally adopted. The rays from both sources are passed through a direct vision prism and then through a polarizing prism, where it is polarized in two directions at right angles to each other. This light is then analyzed by means of a Nicol prism, and the angle through which this prism must be rotated in order that the two fields be of the same intensity is the measure of the temperature relation of the two sources. To use the instrument it is only necessary to point it at the source of heat and rotate the eye piece until the whole field is evenly illuminated, read the amount of rotation and from a previously prepared table the temperature is calculated. In this method the comparison light has its "black" temperature determined by comparison with a non-luminous source of heat.

These optical methods are the latest advances in thermometry and are excellent examples of the application of some of the refined principles of physical science.

PHOTOGRAPHING THE INTERIOR OF THE EYE.

Many fruitless attempts have been made heretofore to photograph the interior or background of the eye, but according to the latest accounts Dr. Walther Thorner, of the University Eye Clinic at the Royal Charité in Berlin, seems to have solved the problem. His

device is an improvement on the ophthalmoscope invented by Helmholtz in 1850 and which permitted of only direct visual observation of the back of the eye by the oculist.

The great difficulty to be overcome in this achievement was due to the fact that on account of the peculiar construction of the eye it was either impossible to illuminate the interior sufficiently to take a good photograph, or if strong light was used, the exposure was so long that the patient would suffer serious inconvenience.

Dr. Thorner first employed his apparatus to obtain photographs of the eyes of animals, particularly cats. The interior of the human eye is much darker than that of a cat, and therefore several modifications had to be made in the apparatus before it could be successfully applied to the photographing of the human eye.

The apparatus resembles an ordinary camera. The picture of the back of the eye is first focused on the plate by means of the mild light of a kerosene lamp. This done, the photographic plate is secured in place and then by means of a special lever the camera is opened and at the same instant a flash light composition is ignited by an electric spark. This flash light illuminates the background of the eye sufficiently to obtain a good picture of the back of the eye. The pictures are, however, somewhat underexposed and require special care to develop them properly for best results.

A large number of photographs of both healthy and diseased eyes have been made by the inventor. From these photographs it is quite possible to distinguish healthy eyes from sick ones. This invention, it is hoped, will enable oculists to observe the progress of eye diseases step by step.

ELECTROLYTIC IRON.

Electricity has been applied to the smelting of iron and steel, and in some cases with considerable success. Another application of electricity in a similar direction, namely, the production of chemically pure iron, is worthy of mention. The method is described in a paper presented to the American Electrochemical Society by Messrs. C. F. Burgess and Carl Hambuechen.

The method is that of securing the pure iron by electrolytic deposition. Pure iron obtained in this way has been long known as a laboratory product, but the present method looks to producing it in such quantities and at such a price that it will become a commercial product. Recent experiments in this direction have been

carried out in the electrochemical laboratory of the Wisconsin University.

The authors of the paper referred to above, after experimenting for more than two years, describe the following satisfactory method: "The electrolyte consists of ferrous ammonium sulphates; the current density at the cathode is six to ten amperes per square foot of cathode surface, and at the anode slightly less; the electromotive force for each cell is slightly under one volt; the temperature of electrolyte is about 30 degrees C.; the anodes consist of ordinary grades of wrought iron and steel; the starting sheets for the cathodes are of thin sheet iron previously cleaned of rust and steel."

Up to the present the only practical application that has been made of electroplating with iron is in the facing of dies and electrotypes. The coating thus deposited consists of pure iron with occluded hydrogen. The presence of the hydrogen is supposed to give it the hardness that makes it useful for these purposes.

The cost of the process alluded to above is, after eliminating the fixed charges on the plant, about one-half cent per pound of iron and the product has a purity of 99.9 per cent. The cost is only very little in excess of that for refining copper.

The presence of the hydrogen makes the metal as hard as steel and so brittle that it can be easily shattered by a hammer. The hydrogen can be expelled by heat and then the metal becomes softer and is malleable and tough like Swedish iron. The electrical properties of the iron thus obtained are greatly affected by the amount of hydrogen present.

With regard to the uses to which this pure iron may be put no definite answer can at present be given, but it will no doubt serve as a basis for studying the properties of iron and its alloys; it may also serve as the basis for chemically pure compounds and for standardizing laboratory solutions.

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Book Reviews.

THE NEW INTERNATIONAL ENCYCLOPÆDIA. Editors: Daniel Coit Gilman, LL. D., President of Johns Hopkins University (1876-1901), President of Carnegie Institution; Harry Thurston Peck, Ph. D., L. H. D., Professor in Columbia University; Frank Moore Colby, M. A., late Professor of Economics in New York University. 17 Vols., large 8vo. New York: Dodd, Mead & Co.

Encyclopædias and encyclopædic dictionaries have been multiplied so rapidly in recent years that the appearance of a new one does not generally attract much attention or call for lengthy comment. As a rule they are brought out on the subscription plan, placed in the hands of agents quick of foot and tongue, and not supersensitive about the means they use to get in touch with a prospective buyer, and then there is not much room for any one else to speak on the subject, nor many occasions. The agents cover the ground pretty thoroughly, and very few possible purchasers escape them. We may be unreasonable, but we must confess a bias against the subscription book and the professional agent. We do not wish to discuss the merits of the subscription plan, or the necessity for the agent to carry it out, but we have good reasons for our bias. The various means employed by the publisher to place us in the hands of the agent, and the ingenious persistency with which this thrifty person tries to get his hands upon us, hardly conduce to love for the plan or its representative.

For instance, one important encyclopædia published recently is advertised without mentioning the price. The reader of the advertisement is invited to write to the publishers for the price. An unreasonable requirement, but in answer to his letter the agent calls, requests a personal interview and takes up a lot of valuable time imparting information which the other person has already or does not want. Very often these agents present engraved cards which do not announce their business, but which sometimes bear a title of distinction. A busy lady or gentleman is taken away from something very important to listen to one who has no right to intrude himself or herself upon any one without announcing the purpose of the call.

We know a lady of prominence in the social world who recently inconvenienced herself very much to dress at an unopportune time to receive another lady whose card indicated that she was making a social call, only to find an agent for a magazine who wished to place her name on the subscription list.

An Archbishop in one of our large cities who is a very busy man, and who always works late into the night, but who finds it necessary

to have fixed hours for receiving visitors every morning, was recently called to the telephone after dinner in the evening and requested to receive at once two gentlemen on very important business, who could not or would not call the next day during the regular hours, because it would be inconvenient. When told that they could not see the Archbishop in the evening except by appointment and on business which would warrant an exception, they reluctantly acknowledged that they wished to obtain a letter of approval from him for an encyclopædia which he had never seen. Lest our readers should conclude that these gentlemen represented the International, we hasten to assure them that they did not.

We wish also to assure our readers that the International is an exception to the statement contained in our opening sentence, namely, that the appearance of a new encyclopædia does not attract much attention or call for lengthy comment.

It is an exception for several reasons. It is an entirely new book, rewritten throughout by competent persons acting under the direction of a very able editorial staff; it is the result of a critical study of all the famous works of reference which have at any time appeared in Europe or the United States, and it combines the four qualities which are necessary to make up the ideal encyclopædia, namely, accuracy of statement, comprehensiveness of scope, lucidity and attractiveness of presentation, and convenience of arrangement. No one of the great encyclopædias can make this claim. This is no reflection on the others, and least of all on the three standards, the Britannica in English, Larousse in French and Brockhaus in German. As these were great advances on the encyclopædias of the eighteenth century, on which they were founded, so is the International an advance on them, taking into consideration all the points of a first-class encyclopædia. The International cheerfully acknowledges its debt to these three leaders, because it has adopted what is good in their plans while trying to avoid their defects.

Its distinctive features are: unsigned articles, because each article, though written by a thoroughly competent person, is passed upon by others in the same field and carefully edited; comprehensiveness extending especially to fullness of biography and to subjects usually found only in readers, handbooks, such as titles of books, characters in fiction, political nicknames, etc.; particular attention to pronunciation and etymology; full bibliography at the end of all important articles; the avoidance of the stereotyped encyclopædic style in writing and of technicalities as far as possible; the adoption of a plan which renders consultation most convenient.

But perhaps our readers will wish to know most of all how are Catholic subjects treated. We distinguish: there are Catholic sub-

jects strictly and technically so called, and there are general subjects which have a Catholic aspect. The former have been treated by competent Catholic writers, and are satisfactory in every way. We have taken such subjects as Confession, Indulgences and the Mass as tests. General subjects which have a Catholic aspect have been treated by writers noted for their knowledge of the subject, rather than for their knowledge of its Catholic aspect. We believe that they have tried to be fair, and that the editors have tried to help them to be fair. We cannot think of anything more that could be done except to publish a Catholic encyclopædia fully as large as this one, or to translate the famous *Kirche Lexicon*, which we hope will be done soon.

Mistakes can be found in this book, as they can be found in everything human. For instance, we are told that Ascension Day is Holy Thursday, and Holy Thursday is Ascension Day, but we believe that these mistakes are few, and if they are all as palpable as this one, they can be easily corrected.

As far as we have been able to observe, the editors of this book have planned well, have conscientiously tried to carry out the plan, have succeeded to a remarkable degree and have produced the best encyclopædia in the English language, judged by the standard raised in the beginning.

UNIVERSAL HISTORY: An Explanatory Narrative. By *Rev. Reuben Parsons, D. D.*, author of "*Studies in Church History*," "*Some Lies and Errors of History*," etc. Vol. II. *Early Mediæval History—From the Fall of the Western Empire until the end of the Crusaders.* 8vo., pp. x.+715. New York: Fr. Pustet & Co.

Dr. Parsons is an indefatigable worker. His six large volumes of "*Studies in Church History*" would be a life work for any man, even the most learned and zealous, but Dr. Parsons had hardly completed that very valuable work when he began the publication of six more equally large, if not larger, volumes on *Universal History*.

The Catholic English-speaking world cannot be too grateful to him for supplementing the first with the second. The publication of the first emphasized the need for the second, and no one was better fitted for the work than Dr. Parsons. When the announcement of the new publication was made, and before the first volume appeared, those who had followed the "*Studies in Church History*" as they came from the press, and realized the great amount of labor connected with them, doubted the wisdom of the second undertaking. Not that they questioned the learning and zeal of the reverend author—these are beyond question—but because they

feared that physical strength would not keep pace with intellectual power.

When the first volume appeared, and the extent of the undertaking became more apparent, these fears increased rather than diminished; but when the second volume came out so promptly and so complete, we began to feel that Dr. Parsons knew himself better than we knew him, and to realize more fully that he is an indefatigable worker, and that he will bring his second great work to a successful finish.

The present volume covers an intensely interesting period in the world's history, when men were building up and tearing down kingdoms, when civilization was overcoming barbarism, and when Christianity was overthrowing paganism. A glance at the sections of the book is sufficient to induce one to desire to possess it and to read. They treat in succession of "The Taming of the Barbarians," "The Lower Greek Empire from the Fall of the Western Empire until the Crusades," "Islamism from Its Origin until the Crusades," "Charlamagne and His Successors in the Holy Roman Empire," "The Popes from the Fall of the Western Empire until the Creation of the Holy Roman Empire," "The Last Carlovingian and First Capetian Kings in France," "The Northmen or Normans," "Commencements of the Eastern European Nations," "The Holy Roman Empire from Its Transfer to the Germans until the Crusades," "The Crusades," "Western Europe During the Crusades," "The Popes from the Creation of the Holy Roman Empire until the End of the Crusades." These specific sections are preceded by an admirable introduction entitled "General Considerations on the Middle Age."

It is worthy of note that the size of this volume necessitates the assigning to Volume III. the section which treats of the "Literature, Science and Art" of both the early and the later Middle Age. It is to be hoped that Catholics will show their appreciation of this Universal History, written from a Catholic point of view, for it is generally admitted that without it the average student would never get at the truth.

COURSE OF CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE. A Handbook for Teachers. Part First, four primary grades. Quarto, pp. 66. Philadelphia: The Dolphin Press.

We quote from the preface: "While in the ordinary branches of secular education there has been of late years notable improvement in methods for imparting as well as in plans for simplifying the acquisition of knowledge, making it interesting and living to the children by pictures, blackboard sketches, the use of moulding

boards and the like, there has been up to the present, or until very lately, comparatively little change in the old-time method of teaching Christian doctrine mainly by question and answer. Yet the abstract nature of the study itself and its difficult phraseology make it all the more incumbent on the teacher to seek to remove the thorns of difficulty and strew with flowers the pathway that leads to the knowledge and love of God. . . . To this end we have but to bring into the teaching of catechism the adjuncts we ourselves employ in secular branches. Why should we not employ the same means in teaching catechism? Traditional methods should be broken with; we should take up again something of the idea that informed the old miracle plays, and with all possible reverence press into the service of religion every appliance that has helped to simplify and make pleasant our secular teaching.

"The Course of Religious Instruction herewith presented is the outcome of attempts to bring the 'New Education' to bear on the old sacred and unchangeable truths, and to lead children not only to know, but to love and practise them. Prepared at first as a guide to young teachers of a religious community, it met with the approbation of priests who saw its practical result; then it passed into wider circulation, so that for several years it has stood the test of actual use in the school room. In response to repeated requests it is now published for general use, in the hope that it may not be less effective in a wider sphere than it has been in a comparatively limited circle."

The appearance of this Teachers' Manual marks an important departure which no doubt will be followed with other guides on the same lines, far reaching indeed in their results. Only those who have had actual experience in teaching, and especially in teaching catechism, and who know the great advantages to be derived from the many helps that have in recent years been introduced into the school room, can appreciate this book, which aims to bring those helps to the teaching of catechism.

All who have examined this book and who are qualified to judge speak of it in the highest terms. The experienced and efficient Superintendent of Parish Schools in Philadelphia stamps it with his approval, and that is high commendation. Indeed, its appearance is due to his persevering efforts and to his confidence in its merits.

He is to be congratulated on the success of those efforts. We have seldom seen a book so suitably clothed. In every particular the form is worthy of the matter. But this is not surprising. The Dolphin Press is a guarantee of good taste and accuracy. We hope that it will be kept busy.

ANTWERP: An Historical Sketch. By *Wilfrid C. Robinson*, Fellow of the Royal Historical Society. 8vo., pp. viii.+288. London: R. & T. Washbourne. New York: Benziger Brothers.

Antwerp forms a very interesting subject for the historian, pushing its origin back by legend to two hundred years before the Christian era, and trying to prove its antiquity by appeals to the many bright stories that are told to account for its name. But the true historian must not stop when he has entertained his readers with interesting legends, however much he might be tempted to do so; he must proceed to facts. Mr. Robinson accepts the meaning attached to the name of the city by the latest historian, which is etymological rather than legendary, for he tells us that Antwerp is a modification of *Aent' werf*, which is a contraction of *Borgt aen 'twerp*—the burg by the riverside.

The geographical situation of Antwerp destined it to be a great commercial city. In three respects it resembles London: it was founded on the river Scheldt where the Schyn empties into it, as London was founded on the Thames where the Lea joins it; both rivers ebb and flow, and both cities are about sixty miles from the sea. During the Middle Ages and the centuries which followed them it was always in the centre of action. Its prosperity made it a temptation for rulers, and hence we are not surprised to find it passing from the control of one government to another on many occasions, and suffering the usual fate that follows such changes. The vitality of the city was shown by its quick rise after periods of attack and adversity and by its general development.

Its ecclesiastical history is no less interesting than its political. It suffered sadly during the rise and progress of the so-called Reformation, its most beautiful churches being dismantled and its magnificent works of ecclesiastical art being destroyed by the Reformers (?). But it also profited by the reaction which followed these diabolical outbursts, for in this field some of the most zealous sons of Holy Church labored.

The city's highest claim to the gratitude of all interested in intellectual progress is that it was the birthplace of the *Acta Sanctorum*, and for more than a century and a half the home of the Bollandists. It was there, in the house of the Jesuits adjoining their church, that the good Jesuit Father Rosweyde began this monumental work one hundred and thirty years ago, and it is not finished yet. Pope Alexander VII. said of it that no work had ever been undertaken more useful to the Church's glory.

Antwerp is illustrious for its artists. In 1382 the famous Guild of St. Luke of Antwerp was founded on a charter granted by Philip the Bold and Margaret of Flanders. This Guild gathered together

the goldsmiths, painters, woodcarvers, embroiderers, enamel-workers and glassworkers who by birth or residence were burghers of Antwerp. The sculptors in stone belonged to the guild of masons. This organization gave a new impetus to art which had already attained a high degree of perfection. This is evident from the ancient monuments of the city. On the roll of honor we find such names as Quentin Metsys, who attained a world-wide fame. His biographer says of him: "Thanks to his great genius, Antwerp became the Florence of the North. As Italian art centralized itself on the banks of the Arno, so Flemish art found its centre on the banks of the Scheldt. As Florence, so Antwerp rallied and led beneath the banner of St. Luke all the great Flemish artists and kept alive, amid the bloodshed, slaughter and devastation of civil war, a noble and pure passion for the beautiful. What Florence is to Italy, Antwerp is to Belgium, the capital of the fine arts."

In the churches and picture galleries of Antwerp may be studied the long line of Flemish artists, from the Van Eycks to Metsys, from Metsys to Rubens and his successors, down to our own times.

Mr. Robinson has all the qualifications of the successful historian. He is clear, painstaking, accurate, unimpassioned and very interesting. Any one who reads his history will want to visit that city if he has not already done so.

GESCHICHTE DER ALTKIRCHLICHEN LITERATUR. Von *Otto Bardenhewer*, Doktor der Theologie und der Philosophie, Professor der Theologie an der Universitaet Muenchen. Zweiter Band. Vom Ende des Zweiten Jahrhunderts bis zum Beginn des vierten Jahrhunderts. Freiburg and St. Louis: B. Herder. Price, \$4 net.

The second volume of Professor Bardenhewer's great "History of Ancient Ecclesiastical Literature" deals with the writers of the third century. Here we meet the immortal names of Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Tetullian, St. Cyprian, Lactantius, Hippolytus and the other towering personalities of the Age of the Martyrs, who are made to pass before us in solemn procession, each in his proper place and environment. Professor Bardenhewer has the rare gift of infusing the spirit of life into antiquarian research; his perspective is just, his judgment keen and nothing pertaining to his vast subject has escaped his eye. It is a great pleasure to possess a work like this to oppose to the productions of contemporary rationalism. In his preface to this volume the learned author repels the charge that a firm believer in the divine origin of the Church cannot write a "scientific" patrology. Who else, in fact, is in so favorable a position to write of the labors of the early fathers with full intelligence of their aims and deep sympathy for their trials and difficulties? In order to emphasize the fact that he writes from the

standpoint of a believing Catholic, he substitutes the term "altkirchlich" for the "altchristlich" of the Rationalistic school. We pray that God will preserve Professor Bardenhewer in life and vigor to finish his great task. The six volumes will form a monument of erudition and industry of which Catholics may well be proud.

DIE KATHOLISCHE KIRCHE IN ARMENIEN. Ihre Begründung und Entwicklung vor der Trennung. Von *Simon Weber*, Professor der Apologetik zu Freiburg im Breisg. Freiburg and St. Louis: Herder. Price, \$3.10 net.

Dr. Weber has written a very fascinating book on a subject of intense interest at the present moment. Poor Armenia, the true Niobe of the nations, continues, to the great disgrace of a degenerate Christendom, to be that which she has been throughout her entire history, the martyr-nation of Christianity and civilization. How much longer will the West suffer the cradle of the human race to be the helpless prey of ruthless barbarians? The first step towards arousing an interest in their wretched condition is to become acquainted with their history, as noble as it is pathetic. Armenia has the proud distinction of having been the first nation that made Christianity the religion of the State, and continues to adhere to her Christian faith, in spite of all the terrible storms that have swept over her hills. This fidelity to her religion, scarcely paralleled by Ireland or by Poland, cannot but ensure for her an ample reward in a brighter future, the first symptom of which is a growing affection for the centre of Catholic unity, from which circumstances, not malice, estranged her. May we hope to see this excellent book reproduced in our own tongue?

COMPENDIUM SACRÆ LITURGIE IUXTA RITUM ROMANUM, Una cum Appendice de Iure Ecclesiastico Particulari in America Fœderata Sept. Vigenti. Scripsit. *P. Innocentius Wapelhorst, O. F. M.* Editio Sexta. 8vo., pp. xvi.-601. Neo-Eboraci: Benziger Fratres.

Wapelhorst's Compendium of Sacred Liturgy is so well known and appreciated that we shall not presume to praise it. A word as to the reasons for a new edition may not, however, be out of place.

The first and most urgent reason given by the author is the publication of the Collection of the Decrees of the Sacred Congregation of Rites under the direction of our late Holy Father Leo XIII. in 1900, and the new decrees made by the same Congregation since that time. The publication of these decrees called for many changes in the Compendium, but only such changes as were necessary were

made, and the work as a whole remains the same. Certain annotations which formerly appeared in an appendix have now been embodied in the text. All quotations of decrees made in former editions from the collection of Gardellini, in the new edition are taken from the authentic collection. In a word, all that was good has been retained and improved, and something has been added. The Compendium is more than ever likely to remain unrivaled for an indefinite period.

LIFE OF HIS HOLINESS POPE PIUS X. Together with a Sketch of his Venerable Predecessor Pope Leo XIII. Also a History of the Conclave, giving a full account of the Rites and Ceremonies connected with the Election of a Successor to the See of St. Peter. With a Preface by His Eminence James Cardinal Gibbons. 8vo., pp. 401, profusely illustrated. New York: Benziger Brothers.

It is very gratifying to be able to lay our hands on the written life of our Holy Father Pius X. so soon after his election to the Holy See, and the publishers are to be congratulated on their promptness. It is not a mere sketch, as such hurriedly prepared biographies generally are, but a very complete and satisfying life.

The book begins with a short life of our late Holy Father Leo XIII. This is followed by a very full history of the Conclave, with complete descriptions of the rites and ceremonies of a Papal election. This is very interesting reading. Then comes the life of the present Pontiff, on whom the eyes of the world are now focussed. It is the story of a simple, holy, faithful priest raised up by God from the humblest station to the highest throne, and it is most edifying from beginning to end. One feels better for having read it.

The illustrations are an important feature. They are all pleasing and instructive, but special interest is attached to those made from recent photographs of actual events.

S. ALPHONSI MARIAE DE LIGORIO Ecclesiae Doctoris Opera Dogmatica ex Italico Sermone in Latium transtulit ad Antiquas Editiones Castigavit Notisque auxit Aloysius Walter Congr. SS. Redemptoris. Tomi duo, 8vo., pp. xix.+717 et xxvi.+793. Romae: Typis Philippi Cuggiani.

This new edition of the dogmatic works of St. Alphonsus, which we have received from Pustet & Co., of New York, is well worthy of the great doctor and theologian of the Church whose works rank among the classics. They are so well known and their merits so universally acknowledged that it would be presumptuous to praise them at this time. The Latin translation gives to them a dignity

and a permanency which they could hardly acquire in any other language.

In Volume I. we have: 1. "Contra Atheos et Deistas." 2. "Contra Sectas Dissidentes." 3. "De Fidei Veritate Contra Incredulos et Haereticos." 4. "Vindiciae contra Feltrinum." 5. "Doctrinae Catholicae iuxta Concilii Tridentini Decreta Expositio."

Volume II. contains: 6. "Haeresum Historia et Confutatio." 7. "De Divina Revelatione Considerationes." 8. "De Novissimis." 9. "De Majno Orationis Medio." Appendix I. et II. Index Rerum Notabilium.

MODERN SPIRITISM: A Critical Examination of Its Phenomena, Character and Teachings, in the Light of the Known Facts. By *J. Godfrey Raupert*. St. Louis: B. Herder. Price, \$1.35.

This is the second book which the author, a convert to the Catholic Faith, has written for the purpose of exposing the perils that lurk in practices and theories of modern Spiritism. His former treatise bore the name of "Dangers of Modern Spiritism;" and both works are deserving of serious consideration of all those who have charge of souls. The so-called occult science has been so saturated and honeycombed with fraud, that there is a general disposition to see nothing in the whole affair but arrant imposture. If a tithe of the facts presented by Mr. Raupert can be believed (and he seems to know whereof he speaks), we are forced to recognize the presence amongst us of a very active and pernicious Satanic agency and to dread the return of the days of a widespread demoniac possession.

BENEDICTI XIV. PAPÆ OPERA INEDITA. Primum publicavit *Franciscus Heiner*, Doctor S. Theol. et Jur. Can. Prælati Domest. S. S., Professor Ord. Jur. Ecclesiastici in Universitate Friburgensi Brigg. Sumptibus Herder: Freiburg and St. Louis. Price, \$6.25 net.

Comparatively few of those who were acquainted with the seventeen large volumes of Benedict XIV.'s "Opera Omnia" were aware that there still reposed in the Vatican archives "Opera Inedita" patiently awaiting an editor. The wonder, therefore, still grows how that indefatigable Pontiff ever found time, in his few vacant moments, for such stupendous literary work, all of it of the first magnitude. The present volume consists of three treatises, the first on "The Greek Rite," the second on "The Feasts of the Apostles" and the third on "The Sacraments." It is a valuable contribution to canonical lore, as was to be expected from so illustrious an author. It is supplied with a complete index. We congratulate Mr. Herder on the beautiful typographical setting of the work.

We subjoin a list of the principal publications of Ginn & Co. since our last issue. A copy of their catalogue, which recently came to us, shows a surprisingly long list of books which are not only excellent, but which may reasonably challenge comparison with the best. It must be quite clear to any one who examines the publications of this house that it is always searching for the best.

BOTANY NOTEBOOK. To accompany Bergen's Text-Books on Botany, and for general use in Botanical Laboratories or for Secondary Schools. By *Joseph Y. Bergen*, formerly Instructor in Biology, English High School, Boston. Cloth. Square quarto. 144 pages. List price, 75 cents; mailing price, 90 cents.

Bergen's Notebook was prepared with the particular view of minimizing the amount of routine dictation for both teacher and pupil without doing any of the latter's thinking for him. Not only will it save time and trouble, but it will also lead the pupil to perform neat and accurate work.

The experiments with their comprehensive directions, the special directions to the student for using the Notebook, the blanks for review summaries and for review sketches, together with the convenient ruled and blank sheets, provide adequately all that the modern teacher of botany will require in a botany notebook.

The author has everywhere insisted on accurate and careful observations, and he has taken especial pains to provide for the needs of the beginner.

OUR BODIES AND HOW WE LIVE. Revised Edition. By *Albert F. Blaisdell*. 12mo. Cloth. 352 pages. Illustrated. List price, 65 cents; mailing price, 75 cents.

In this revision of Dr. Blaisdell's "Our Bodies" the text has been thoroughly revised and in many parts entirely rewritten. The author's intent has been to bring his well-known book fully into touch with the latest and best scientific thought on physiology and hygiene. In addition, the revised book is fully illustrated with engravings and line cuts based upon original drawings and photographs; and the mechanical execution of the book as a whole marks an improvement over the older edition.

EDUCATIONAL MUSIC COURSE. Teachers' Edition for Elementary Grades. By *James M. McLaughlin*, Director of Music, Boston Public Schools, and *W. W. Gilchrist*, Author of "Exercises for Sight-Singing Classes," etc. 8vo. Cloth. xiv.+271 pages. List price, \$1.25; mailing price, \$1.40.

This book is a teacher's manual and has been designed to supplement the "New First Music Reader" of "The Educational Music Course." It will also prove invaluable as a guide to all elementary music teaching in the schools. Among its entirely new features are the following: 1. It presents a comprehensive and practical plan, with plenty of drills, for training and developing the child voice. 2. There is introduced an entirely new system of developing tone relation. 3. It gives a collection of superior rote songs for use

in the first three years of school. 4. It contains an appendix of the songs of the great masters. 5. It presents complete piano accompaniments for all the song material of the "New First Music Reader" and for all the songs in the manual itself. 6. Invaluable "Aids to Teachers" are included for the special purpose of making more effective the work with the "New First Music Reader." Every time and tone feature to be developed with each exercise and song is clearly explained and illustrated.

THE SQUIR OF LOWE DEGRE. Edited by William E. Mead, Professor of English in Wesleyan University. Octavo. Cloth. lxxxv.+111 pages. List price, \$1.25; mailing price, \$1.35.

This new edition of "The Squyr of Lowe Degre" forms the second volume of the "Albion Series of Old and Middle English Texts." All the extant forms, including Copland's edition, the short version of "The Squier" in the Percy MS., and the fragments of Wynkyn de Worde's sixteenth century edition—until now never reprinted—are arranged in parallel paging, with notes, glossary and introduction discussing the relations of the versions, the date and sources, and, in particular, the alleged acquaintance of Chaucer with the piece.

"The Squyr of Lowe Degre" is one of the most interesting of the minor verse romances of the later Middle Ages, and well deserves the praise bestowed upon it by James Russell Lowell and other discriminating critics. Evidences of its popularity in the sixteenth century are not lacking. Shakespeare clearly alludes to it in one play and imitates some lines of it in another. As an excellent specimen of its class, the right of the poem to a permanent place in the representative literature of its day is not likely to be seriously questioned.

MINNA VON BARNHELM (Lessing's). Edited, with Introduction, Notes and Vocabulary, by Richard A. Von Minckwitz, Teacher of Greek and Latin in the De Witt Clinton High School, New York City, and Anne Crombie Wilder, Teacher of Greek and Latin in the Westport (Kansas City, Mo.) High School. 16mo.-Semi-flexible cloth. xviii.+202 pages. Portrait. List price, 45 cents; mailing price, 50 cents.

This play, "The Child of the Seven Years' War," conquered at once the stage of Northern Germany, and has retained its popularity to the present day. It gave voice in the theatrical world to that spirit of national independence which owed its recognition on the political field to the great Prussian King.

GERMELSHAUSEN. By Friedrich Gerstücker. Edited, with Introduction, Notes, Exercises and Vocabulary, by Griffin M. Lovelace, Instructor in Modern Languages in the Louisville (Ky.) Male High School. 16mo. Semi-flexible cloth. xiii.+107 pages. Frontispiece. List price, 30 cents; mailing price, 35 cents.

This book, already very popular with teachers and students, has been especially recommended by the "Committee of Twelve." It is interesting as being the product of a German who spent several

years in America. The book throughout is distinctively German in spirit and color, and presents an excellent example of narrative and conversation. In every way it is suitable for high schools and colleges as a first book after the reader.

A MANUAL OF PRONUNCIATION. By *Otis Ashmore*, Superintendent of Schools, Savannah, Georgia. Sq. 12mo. Cloth. ix.+67 pages. List price, 30 cents; mailing price, 35 cents.

This little manual has been specially prepared for practical use in the class room. Not only is it adapted to the upper grades of the grammar schools, to high schools and to colleges, but it is also intended for use in homes and offices. It contains only those words most commonly mispronounced in our language, and the plan of the book, original and unique in itself, enables the student to see at a glance the weight of authority for every word given.

Ten of the leading lexicographers and orthoepists of America and England have been selected and quoted on the words where authorities differ, so that the student may see not only the preferred pronunciations but the secondary forms as well. In many words of more than one authorized pronunciation, as abdomen, alternate, bronchitis, etc., there is overwhelming testimony in favor of one form, while in others, as economical, acoustics, etc., the authorities are more nearly balanced. All this is clearly summed up in tabular form and shows the student at a glance just what company he keeps.

PRIMARY ARITHMETIC. 12mo. Cloth. 264 pages. Illustrated. List price, 30 cents; mailing price, 35 cents.

Without going to an extreme in any one theory, this book presents the best modern ideas of primary arithmetic, and is intended to assist in vitalizing the work in the elementary grades.

GRAMMAR SCHOOL ARITHMETIC. 12mo. Cloth. 394 pages. Illustrated. List price, 65 cents; mailing price, 75 cents.

Like the author's "Primary Arithmetic," this work follows, in sequence of topics, the best of the courses of study in use by the various cities and States. In general, each topic is so treated as to give the pupil a feeling of reasonable mastery, together with the consciousness that it is not completely exhausted.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

THE PRINCIPLES OF MORAL SCIENCE. By *Rev. Walter McDonald, D. D.*, Prefect of the Dunboyne Establishment, St. Patrick's College, Maynooth. St. Louis: B. Herder. Price, \$1.60 net.

GENESIS UND KEILSCHRIFTFORSCHUNG. Ein Beitrag zum Verstaendnis der Biblischen Ur und Patriarchengeschichte. Von *Dr. Johannes Nickel*, Professor an der Universitaet Breslau. St. Louis: Herder. Price, \$1.75 net.

A PRECURSOR OF ST. PHILIP (Buonsignore Caciaguerra). By *Lady Amabel Kerr*. Herder: St. Louis. Price, \$1.25.

IMITATION OF THE SACRED HEART OF JESUS. By *Rev. F. Arndt, S. J.* Translated from the Latin by *I. M. Fastre*. New Edition with Morning Prayers, Devotions for Mass, Confession, Communion, etc. 16mo., pp. 734. New York: Benziger Brothers.

